Nevins

Introduction to Rogers's "Ponteach".

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Allan Nevins

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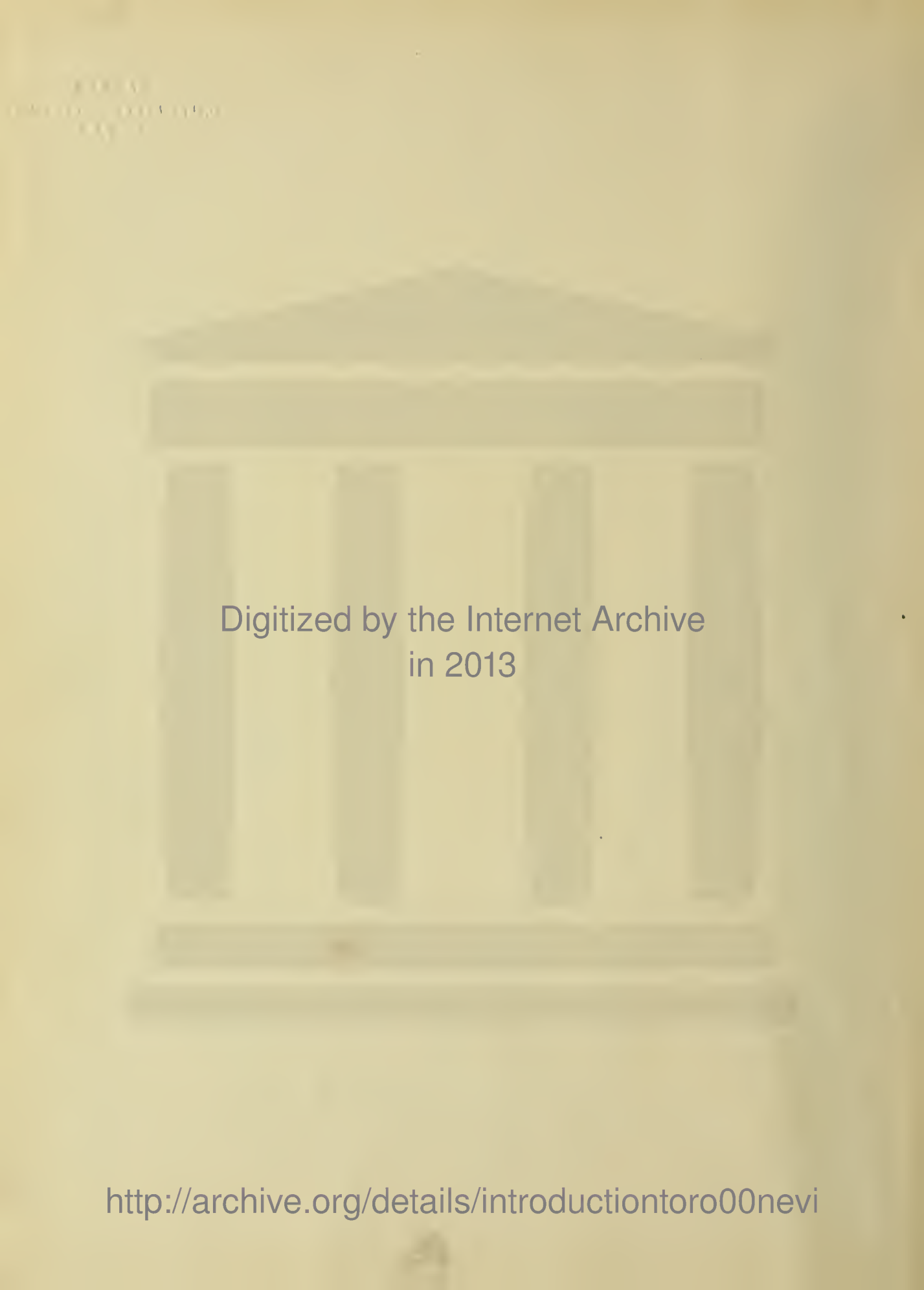

To a right appraisal of Robert Rogers it is indispensable that he be regarded against his historical and geographical background, as a member of our most distinct national type, - as one of the first,and the most sharply drawn, of the long and honored generation of frontier Americans. He was born, and he died, an English citizen; but his nativity was in the American wilderness, and in the three chief qualities of his career he showed himself of the same stamp which, in larger mould and far more sterling stuff, reached its culminating expression in the mill-boy of the Slashes, and the Sangamon rail-splitters. He was implanted amid rude and unsmiling surroundings, and unaided by education or influence carried himself, by sheer mental strength and the vivida vis of a strong temperament, to a position where momentarily he could leave the impress of his hand upon the major events about him. His rough nature ever lacked suavity and cultivation, and in its wild disregard of restraints not merely polite, but sternly attacked by all moral principle , at times passed in eccentric orbit beyond the bounds of defensible conduct; yet it showed virtues as clearly cut as its vices, and exhibited independence of thought, bold self-reliance, unfaltering energy and ambition, and a centripetal poise in momentous affairs that commanded more commonplace men. His vigor, his intent, eager-strained faculties, the restless fervor that led him over three continents and into a half-score of pursuits - qualities drawn from his boyhood struggle with untamed nature, and nurtured by sea and air and wilderness battle - found final play in the arena of coordinated society, and so brought him again and again into scenes against which he stood in

picturesque contrast. In all these things, in his defects and in his talents, in his half-development one one side and his over-development on another, he was one of the notable frontier products of New England. The full force and flavor of such a career are lost if the typical border tincture which leavens it is not appreciated, and if it is not understood that it is identical with at least the cruder phases of the great figures which have grown up along the broad line of our western-encroaching civilization during the last century. - Harrison, Jackson, Houston, Grant, Johnson, Clemens. The sturdy son of a New England log cabin; the French fighter and Indian scout; the colonial land speculator; the London author; the far-Western governor; the court intriguer; the Algerine mercenary; the Revolutionary loyalist; - only upon such an understanding and appreciation can these varied rôles, with all the achievements and failures they carry with them, all the contrasts between the heroic and the blotted pages they fill, seem to spring with verisimilitude from the same nature, and fall into harmonic outline against the great stirring drama of which they form a part.

In keeping with the shades of the northern forests in which he was born, we have no historical background of family or lieage against which to place Robert Rogers; and about his cradle hangs a cloud which research has

not found it easy to dispel. We know that he first saw the light of day on November 17, 1731. - scarce three months before one of the richest and most patrician of Virginia witnessed the birth of the father of the republic -, and that his father, James Rogers, was at that moment a sturdy husbandmen of Methuen, an infant and outpost settlement of Massachusetts. We know, too, that his mother was named Mary, and that already he had three brothers. But of the stock from which he sprung, of his family's history in this country and the British Isles, even of the previous life of his father, we know nothing, nor can any of the imperfect birth-records or ship-lists of New England inform us. The name Rogers is one of the most common in the town-records, land deeds, and muster-rolls of all the settlements coastwise from Cape Cod to Portsmouth, and inland along the Connecticut, the Blackstone, and the Merrimac. It is a name that had its Cavalier associations in English history, and its Cavalier representatives in even the northern colonies; it was born by two of those who signed the Mayflower compact, and in such Puritan hamlets as Roxbury, Marshfield, Boston, and Weymouth by family after family whose log huts first broke the wilds of Massachusetts; and it occurs repeatedly among the sturdy Scotch immigrants who early in the eighteenth century forsook the north of Ireland, with its popish atmosphere and Celtic neighbors, for the harsh hills of lower New Hampshire. To which of these various branches of the generic family James Rogers belonged seems indeterminable. As to whether he was of English, Scotch, or Scotch-Irish blood, even,we have only the tradition that it was he who in after

years named a piece of land upon which he settled Monntalona, after a loved spot in County Derry.

At the moment of Robert Rogers' birth his farther was little more than a newcomer in Methuen, having arrived a year or two earlier over one of the forest-girdled bridle-paths which stretched from the coast settlements westward along the Merrimac.At his coming, he found the little town doing picket duty for all that section of the province, and verging upon a wilderness that lay deep and almost unbroken north to the French villages upon the St. Francis. The community was the boldest of a colony that as yet numbered but a few thousand people. It was practically a western extension of Haverhill, from which it had enjoyed but five years separation, and with which it still constituted a belt of rural aettlement along the upper bank of the Merrimac. Indeed, the two townships then exhibited jointly an oblong tract of land, some four miles in width and extending for fifteen miles along the brawling little river, only sparsely dotted by scattered homes and their fields or clearings. Upon the site of the now flourishing city of Haverhill huddled the cabins of a compact village, and elsewhere at central points rose rough meeting-houses. Rogers, whom a deed of a few years later describes as a farmer, had at once taken up modest holdings , and set about making a permanent home. In some nook of the forest which offered him an advantageous position, surrounded perhaps by a small natural meadow, and level enough to make further clearing profitable, he erected the customary dwelling of hastily squared logs, and hastened to plant his rye and his vegetables among the rugged stumps and charred remains of felled trees.

The late summer of Robert's birth was not more than the first or second to see,against the dark background of the forest, and the yet green leaves of maize at its edge, the ripening yellow of the common English grains, and the pale blossoms of the pea and bean. The child had entered a home before which still lay in large part , the task of wrestling a dwelling and a steady maintenance from the woods.

James Rogers found Methuen in many ways a well-adapted place of settlement for a growing and struggling family. The country itself offered many natural advantages. While he had neighbors in plenty, especially along the rutted and stony cart-track that traversed hill and thicket toward Haverhill, their houses were scattered over miles of ground, in the roomy manner characteristic of Anglo-Saxon settlement, and left free and ample space for a free agricultural and sylvan life. As for Indians, there were few in the vicinity, and none in the entire region who were not peacably inclined; for although the Naumkeag, the Piscataqua, the Accomenta, and the Agawam lay toward the French possessions in a cloud threatening enough to such an exposed community, they had since the close of Queen Anne's War committed none but the most trivial depredations. Game abounded, and by gun and trap peltry and venision could easily be secured. The nearby Spicket and Merrimac swarmed with salmon, shad, bass, and sturgeon. The beauty of the country was evident to any who had eye for it.The woods rolled back their foliage in variegated masses from the shores of the rivers, climbing hills where in summer the heavy oak and the solemn pine through shadows dome-like or

over the lesser and brighter crests of the birch, the maple and the walnut; and in places gave way to jutting capes of bare upland, or - where the brooks fed down into ponds - to open, green meadows, whose wet, black earth furnished a sharp-edged grass to the cattle and deer. Up to Haverhill the river felt the tide, and above the downward point where it first suffered a sea-change and began to betray by masts upon its bosom the vicinity of the ocean, it was beautifully diversified by dashing falls, long sliding rapids, and stretches consistently tranquil. Nor externally rough and picturesquely wild as it seemed, was the land an unproductive one. By labor certainly hard, but as certainly fruitful, it could be brought to exchange its elm and hemlock for apple and pear,its wild blackberry for patches of pumpkin and turnips, and its half shorn section of timber and bush for Indian corn and waving bloomy timothy.

The township was one, moreover, which paid to such institutions as ministered to its higher social needs the same energetic attention that characterised all the austere Puritan communities of Massachusetts. The inhabitants had based their plea of 1725 for separate government on an alleged difficulty in attending divine services; and accordingly it had been provided in the General Court's ordinance of division that within three years the citizens of Methuen should provide a suitable house for public worship and settle in it " a learned orhodox minister of good conversation " ! In fact, the minutes of the early town meetings are filled with contentious wranglings over the

location of the church and the choice of a pastor. These, however had died away about the time at which Rogers entered Methuen, and a Rev. Christopher Sargent was peacefully inducted into the pulpit from which he was destined to expound the gospel for more than fifty years. Equal provision had been made for the public schools. For their maintenance fifty acres had been set aside at the creation of the village, and when the sturdy existence of the school had been assured, the godly congregation turned to provide elementary facilities for education. In 1731, the year of Robert's birth, the citizens voted to divide the duties of schoolmaster among Ebenezer Barker, Thomas Eaton, and Joshua Swan, each of whom should conduct classes in his own home for one month, at a stipend of £2 . 6s. In 1735, again, it was resolved to erect a suitable, if rude, structure to house the growing number of children; and in this log school, which for general convenience of access, and insurance of pastoral supervision, was placed beside the meeting-house, instruction was given for nearly three months in midwinter. During its brief term no householder could retain his children at home without brooking the decided disapproval of his Puritan neighbors. Reading was taught from the Bible, with perhaps a well-thumbed copy of the New England Primer, a moral reader illustrated by quaint wood-cuts; and writing and accounts upon carefully stripped sections of yellow birch-bark. The house was closed outside with unpainted clapboards, inside with a dingy wainscoting, and heated with a huge fireplace, which in winter devoured enormous quantities of fuel, and in summer was filled

with green boughs. Robert's three elder brothers were old enough to avail themselves of this schooling from its very initiation in 1735, and he himself soon after. Under the rigid application enforced by a sternly dignified schoolmaster, an in the earnest atmosphere of an intelligent and religious society , acquisition of a smattering of information was rapid.

The sojourn of the Rogers' family at Methuen was brief, but amid circumstances of which it is hard to form some conception, Robert passed here the first eight years of his life. His home was the typical frontier cabin of the period, built of roughly-squared logs, with a loft above and two comfortable rooms below. In the great living room, puncheon-floored, stood the inevitable spinning-wheel, the clothes chest, the rough table and stiff chairs; at one side rose the large unvarnished dresser, the pewter and china sparkling in serried rows upon it; a shelf above supported its Bible and a few cherished books, chiefly devotional, but perhaps mingled with a handful of polemical tracts; and at one end was built the spacious fire-place, whose heavy andirons admitted eight-foot logs to crackle on the hearth, filling the apartment on the bitterest winter night with radiance and warmth. The firelight or sunlight playing into the other room lit up the drawers and shelves fastened to the timbers, caught the glint of woolen coverlets on the beds, and sparkled bravely back from the polished Queen's arm that, its battles with the French over, hung from hooks against the wall. Above all, festooning the ceiling in both rooms, were

strings of dried fruit, bunches of herbs, links of corn tied by the husks, sausages, bacon, and even small quarters of venison. The heavy, diamond-paned windows were crossed inside with wooden bars, and a portable ladder reached the loft. As a boy Robert knew the hard fare of such a home, - Indian meal sweetened with berries into a swamp, and relieved by game and simple vegetables, - and as he grew older he was impressed into the less arduous of the daily tasks about the busy household, or played with his brothers in the neighboring forests. He became familiar with the gliding naked forms of the Indians, passing to town to barter or to steal; with the fur clad hunter, as he pushed crackling homeward through the thickets, bent under a load of steaming venison; with the rough lumberman, the fisher, the mower along the wide meadow marshes, and perhaps even with the jolly mariners who visited Haverhill. He heard stories of the northern tribes, varying from vivid recitals of the attacks of thirty years before to peaceful legends of the half-mystical grandeur of their old chief Passonconway; echoes of the presence of the French beyond the White Mountains; and descriptions of the wild cat, the bear, the wolf, and the grisly catamount. He was thus awakening fully to the frontier life about him when in 1739 his parents resolved upon a new step.

They had arrived at Methuen too late to share in the general distribution of the land within the town, and hence had obtained there no extensive holdings. To the north and west, beyond the bend of the Merrimac and

in its upper valley, lay a broad tract of rich territory just becoming available through the liberal grants of the General Court. Here they naturally began to look for such a breadth of acres as would ensue them a more liberal competence. The problem of comfortable support in Methuen had become complicated also by additions to the size of the family, for another son had been born in May, 1734, and a daughter two years later. In the years following 1735 they heared more and more of the lands to the north, for they were rapidly being explored and surveyed, and a thin line of settlers was streaming up the east bank of the river into what is noe New Hampshire. Rumford, lying nearly fifty miles upon the left side, had been incorporated in 1734 with nearly one hundred families, and in the same month an entire township immediately below it, and only thirty-five miles from Methuen, was granted to veterans of the Narragansett War. Londonderry and Chester, intervening between Rumford and Methuen , were already filled with Scotch-Irish, and Suncook, lying near-by athwart the river, had been parceled out ten years previously. Amid an exploitation of new territory that thus yearly became more general, Rogers was upon the alert to buy advantageously.

It is interesting that although opportunities for a cautious purchase were numerous, his choice was a bold one. On November 24, 1738, for the sum of £ 110, he bought of Zaccheus Lovewell of Canterbury, New Hampshire, a tract called Lovell's Farm, comprising nearly four hundred acres situated sixteen miles west and south of Rumford,

and at a greater distance beyond the Merrimac than any settler had yet gone. The farm was a portion of a larger area in which Lovewell, with five associates, had secured in 1735 from the General Court, as a recognition of the services against the Maine Indians of his brother John, who had died in battle at Pigwacket ten years before. So far did it lie from the usual haunts of any Englishman, and from the direct current of western emigration which in Massachusetts was hugging the colonial boundary, and in New Hampshire the Merrimac River, that at the moment even its proprietors knew nothing of its character. Two cottagers only, in 1737, had crept timidly outward from Rumford to agricultural land a few miles west, and there halted maintaining a close communication with their base of supplies and protection. Yet Rogers pitched unhesitatingly upon Lovewell's Farm. It is likely that in some hunting expedition, in which he had followed the blustering river northward through miles of virgin forest past the Souhaga River and Amooskeag Falls, and up over the ridge-broken land of the vicinity, he first came upon this alluring little domain. In one salient feature its attractiveness centered. High hills and unbroken forests lay about, but down between them crept and expanded a broad champaign, in part natural intervale land, in part cleared by beavers; and over it billowed a meadow of grass whose luxuriance betokened the richness of the soil. It was true that not a pioneer's smoke rose above the wilderness for miles about, and that the quarter lay a perilous distance from any large settlement. To James Rogers, however, who had not known the frontier except in time of comparitive peace,

the glittering prize far outweighed consideration of all the thorns which surrounded it, and he resolved at once to grasp his opportunity. If anything had been required, immediately preceding 1738, to strngthen his determination, an energetic renewal projects to develop the whole country-side might have served the end. A company which formed itself about Captain William Tyng - the first soldier to employ snowshoes in Indian campaigns, - was in 1737 given land which fell but a few miles southeast of Lovewell's assignment; and at the same time the remainder of the township, out of which these two parcels had been carved, was surveyed, divided, and granted to one Shubal Goreham and his associates on terms which called for immediate settlement. But while all this augured well for the uninterrupted development of the territory, its promise wholly failed. No colonist went forward, and when in 1738 Rogers made Lovewell his first offer for his farm, he was the only person who contemplated building a house in that extreme position.

He did not,however, go alone. One of his neighbors in Methuen was Joseph Pudney, a former resident of Salem, the owner there at one time of land and a shop, and whilom possessor also of several farms near Haverhill. In some manner Rogers prevailed upon his neighbor, whose family numbered six stalwart sons, and whose aid in opening a new country would therefore be almost indispensable, to accompany him. Pudney, already growing old, was an unlettered man, but he possessed a practical turn of mind that was quick to see the advantages inherent in the tract which Rogers had chosen.

Early in spring of 1739, therefore, when Robert was but eight years old, the two families removed to their new home. No road had as yet been hewn for even a part of the distance toward their objective, and the journey was a formidable one; but driving their cattle before them, they conveyed as best they could all their movable goods.

The tract upon which they found themselves was one variegated in surface, but offering some wholly new advantages in agriculture. Hills, as we have said abounded. From the broad top of the highest near the point where Rogers actually laid his hearthstone, the crests of the White Mountains, nearly a hundred miles to the north, could be seen on clear days like great bright clouds above the horizon. There were many ponds in the township, the largest being actually small lakes, and everywhere trout-brooks fed down under thick coverts of alder and hemlock toward the bickering Merrimac, seven miles away. Upon the rougher land stood heavy forests of oak, ash, beech, and pine, which gave way along the lower intervales to softer woods and wild grasses. The chief advantage of the district, however, cosisted in its smooth land parks, a relief especially welcome to tenants used to the broken ground and marshy arable land of Methuen. Upon the largest,as well as the highest of these meadows , Rogers and Putney commenced the construction of their houses, and during the summer months erected two buildings of hewn logs at no great distance from one another. Their families once safely installed, they were able before the setting-in of winter to provide two hasty shelters for their stock. Their houses were in an almost perfect solitude, broken only by the presence

within the neighboring woods and valleys of some small camps of friendly Indians.

In this changed seat the families prospered during the next few years. Pudney had bought no land, but had shared the purchase of Rogers; and to secure the cultivation plot which fell conveniently near, one of the neighbors, probably Pudney, signed a promissory note to Thos. Colburn, a grantee, and began clearing it for tillage. Already neighboring meadows were being fenced, and during the summer cattle from the farms lower along the Merrimac were driven into them for the bush grass. For years to come, however, these temporary visitors withdrew eastward at the approach of the wintry blasts and drifts which would cut them off from the main towns east and south. Two orchards were set out by the pioneers, and by 1745 so prospered as to bear fruit; one hundred acres of meadow were fenced, and mown or grazed annually; and nearly as many more were given to grain. In the larger tasks the two households, whose size made extensive farming operations possible, gave one another assistance. Each year the bays of the barns were crammed with hay for winter fodder; each year the sturdy boys bent beneath the midsummer sun to the cutting of the grain; each year the herding of cattle, the care of the orchard, hunting, trapping, cutting and burning bush, filled in the portions of the year not devoted to seeding and harvesting. Even after the first storms of winter came there was no relaxation of labor. Long afterward Robert told in London how, as a boy, he gathered the shoots of alder, birch, and elm, and carrying them home in fagots, bound them into

rude brooms and transported them over ice and snow to the nearest market-place, fifteen miles away through the woods.

This market-place was Rumford, and Robert Rogers' connection with it is of possible importance in his education. To it from Lovewell's farm led only a blazed path, winding beneath the sombre shade over hill and valley, through copse and brake, skirting the base of hills and fording streams, till at last it came in view of the blockhouse, the brief, uneven streets of rough houses, and the dancing waves of the river beyond. Upon the town's stores and mills the isolated pioneers depended upon their scanty supply of purchased provisions, and upon its schools and churches for mental and spiritual guidance. At the same time, they kept intact the links between themselves and Methuen. During several autumns, one marked by so great a drought that farmers elsewhere imported hay from England for their starving cattle, the elder Rogers bought droves of oxen in Haverhill, and drove them north to be wintered. From his eigth year onward, therefore, Rogers' acquaintance with both Rumford and Methuen must have been partially maintained, and at times during the winter he may even have been spared from home to continue his education. Of this, however, or of the chance that he may have improved his knowledge of letters from the presence of books in his home, it is impossible to speak with authority. We may only be certain that he was becoming a typical frontier lad: powerfully built, keen of eye, and quick of muscle; versed in all the moods of the forest, and all the possibilities of woodcraft; a bold and experienced hunter, and increasingly

familiar with the Indians of the region; as facile on the trail, or in the clearing, as he was ill-at-ease elsewhere. Much of the country north to the Conticook and the Kyasaga hills, and west to the Connecticut watershed, he must have explored by 1745. It was in this knowledge of the border settlement, the border farm, and the wilderness that his real traing for life lay.

So he was, and so his family were, when the outbreak of King George's war threw them amid a radically changed set of circumstances. The descent of the war was not sudden, and gave to colonists who for twenty years had found a breathing space exempt from Indian attack a brief space to prepare. The warm spring day of May, 1725, whose sun, low-sinking over the lonely forest pond in Maine, had seen the sullen Winnipesaukee Indians leave the field to the companions of dying Captain Lovewell, was the last in which a hostile shot had been fired. Ordinary precautions, however, had never been relaxed by the exposed settlements, and after the French occupation of Crown Point, eighty miles west of Rumford, had been redoubled. In 1739 this northernmost town voted the construction of a garrison about the home of its minister; and during 1740, as Rogers and his sons drove in their cattle for the night, or gauged by the ebbing of the day behind the pine woods, the moment for striking out their last tired chips, they could sometimes hear the distant gun announcing that all householders were to gather within the village for the night. During 1741 and 1742 rumors that international affairs were steadily growing stormier began to sift up from the south, brought by ship from England.

Finally, early in 1744 Frederick the Great began the Second Silesian war, and France and England joined in arms. In all, though the news reached Canada first, and on May 10 Cape Briton, reading the signals of the first incoming ship, was gay with the banners and martial music of the French, while it was not until June 1 that couriers were out from Boston warning all New England to gird herself, no distant holm or hamlet was taken unawares. Already, under the stimulus of the threatened conflict, the settlers had begun their preparations. A fortnight before Governor Benning Wentworth had risen upon the floor of an extraordianry session of the Assembly at Portsmouth with these words: " The naked condition of our inland frontiers requires your compassionate regard. Consider with great tenderness the distress the inhabitants on the frontier are in at this juncture ". The Assembly had raised two hundred men for scouting duty, and authorized a bounty upon Indian scalps. At and near Rumford, the center to which Rogers and Pudney looked for protection, the alarm was long since general. On June 27 a memorial,signed by the heads of sixty-seven families, was borne to the capital by the influential Colonel Benjamin Rolfe. It prayed, on the ground that the buildings of the town were " compact, properly formed for defense, and well situated for a barrier " upon the Merrimac, lying only fifteen miles below the confluence of the Winnipesaukee and Pemmiwasset Rivers, both of which were " main gangways of the Canadians to the frontiers of the provinces ", that the settlement be created a position of general defense, and the seat of a large garrison. The town was put in a state of defense; a number of the stongest

houses in it were fortified as places of instant refuge; the fields were worked by men in armed companies; and during the whole summer a scouting squad was kept ranging the woods to the north and west. Yet still the French delayed the inspiration of their savage allies to border ravages.

During the first two summers of the war the Rogers and Pudney families, indeed, safely permitted themselves to remain in the almost isolated depths of the forest. Their only danger was from roving bands of the weak and erstwhile friendly tribes of the neighboring wastes, now withdrawing resentfully from the vicinity of the settlements. Against these their own numbers constituted a sufficient protection. Their crops were their all, and economic necessity held them to the stubborn occupation of their acres. With nothing but a few petty and stinging attacks, generally unsuccessful, along the Connecticut and in upper New York to warn them, they felt justified in refusing to desert the harvests of 1744 and 1745. With the advent of the autumn of the latter year, however, they were forced to retire to Rumford. The capture of Louisbourg by Pepperell, in June exasperating and incensing French pride, fianlly ushered in the frontier warfare. In July a horrifying series of outrages began along the Connecticut River, culminating in early October in a heavy attack upon Westmoreland, a large town almost directly west of Rumford, and in November in the sacking and burning of Saratoga, New York. Simultaneously Crown Point became the base of operations for a score of strong Indian parties. Outlying farms were everywhere deserted and the inhabitants rallied to the nearest village for shelter and defense.

The reaping of their summer grain and hay ended, before the frost hardened the maize both Rogers and Pudney took refuge in Rumford.

In this little frontier town, whose every house was strongly fortified, and whose environs were constantly patrolled, the center of a valley community which lay in a ceaseless state of war, Robert Rogers thus passed the next three years, until the spring 1748. During the first summer it was impossible for his father and brothers to devote any but the most haphazard attention to their farm, so unremittingly were the inroads of the savages. In the months of May and June, 1746, by a French paper yet preserved, thirty-five different war-parties of the Abenaki and Ottawa were sent out from Crown Point to ravage the frontier. On May 5 zealous Captain Goffe wrote from Rumford, about two o'clock in the morning ' - " The Indians are all about. There was never more need of soldiers than now. It is enough to make one's blood boil to see our fellow-creatures killed and taken up on every quarter ". On May 15, by order of the General Assembly, three citizens of Rumford distributed its families among ten garrison houses, assigning to one Joseph Pudney and his sons William, Henry, and Samuel, and to another James and Samuel Rogers. Up and down the Merrimac men worked in the fields only in large companies, with arms always by their sides. Even at church the settlers carried their guns into the pews, and the minister prayed with his piece resting against the pulpit. The towns distributed powder, bullets, flints,and muskets to the poor.

No shot might be fired after sunset except at a savage. During the second year also, while Rogers and Pudney may have made brief midsummer visits to Lovewell's farm, the inruptions of the savages continued with such persistent duration that they could have accomplished little at cultivation. On May 20, 1747, there was so happy an attack upon the town of Suncook, immediately below Rumford and to the east of their joint holdings, that the province ordered out a greatly increased body of scouts to safeguard the upper reaches of the river. Any of the region who were forced by harsh necessity to take conscious risks in preserving the fruit of their acres aften suffered for their temerity; and we find even the inhabitants of Pembroke, to the east of the Merrimac, complaining " they lived so much exposed to the Indian enemy that they got their bread at the peril of their lives, by reason of the sword of the wilderness ". In July of 1747, when the elderly Joseph Pudney had his arm broken by a shot while carrying " a wooden bottle of beer " from a village garrison to men in the fields, the region was so infested by savages that the alarm became extraordinary. Only a reenforcement of thirty men sent by Wentworth to Rumford permitted a continuance of hay-mowing , then just begun, in the vicinity of the town. Neither the Rogers or the Pudney families could have profited greatly by their summer's labor. Not until the end of 1747, in a winter remarkably severe, did the frequency of Indian aggressions at all abate.

During these two adventurous years, the boy Robert Rogers, for his age extraordiarily tall and sturdy,

not merely bore an interest in all that was passing about him,but also found means to mingle in the direct current of events. In the winter, when even the boldest hunters stirred little abroad, he may well have been at school; in summer he was a participant in not merely the village harvest, but its military expeditions. In August, 1746, while at the age of fifteen he was not yet liable even for militia duty, an unusual exigency impressed him into the ranks. This exigency was the attack of August 10 upon a detachment of Captain Ladd's company, previously engaged in scouting the woods from Rumford east to Canterbury, as it was being transferred along a forest lane from the former town to a fortified house two miles west ; in the very heart of garrisons and patrols, at not a mile's distance from a whole company of soldiery, and among large bodies of men daily working in the fields, seven men were killed and scalped. Amid the general consternation Robert Rogers, with his brother Samuel and others, enlisted, and served until the end of September, ranging over all the country below Lake Winnipesaukee, but seeing no real fighting. Similarly in August of the next year, when the harvest was largely over, he enlisted for a second time in a company of rangers, and campaigned for nearly six weeks under Ebenezer Eastman. The body of which he mayed one scoured the woods north and west of his home for thirty miles, operating over territory with which he was thoroughly familiar, and upon one or two occasions engaging in a light skirmish. At various other times the hardy lad may have done sentinel duty about the town.

During the winter of 1757 - 8 the intensity of the border struggle lessened so perceptibly that at the

return of spring the elder Rogers, with his neighbor, felt justified in returning to Lovewell's farm. Fewer and fewer attacks were made by the Indians, and fewer rumors of their proximity disturbed the settlements. Since the capture of Fort Massachusetts two years before no military event of any moment occurred in America, while Europen affairs steadily pointed toward peace. Although garrisons were still maintained in the town, and scouts kept out to the north, almost absolute tranquility seemed to reign after January, and no protest was raised against the settler's departure from town late in March. Unfortunately, one of the last strokes of the war was destined to touch their fortunes most severely.

Toward evening of one day in April a band of savages was discovered to be lurking in the vicinity of Rumford. The alarm was given, and while messengers notified other outlying cottagers, two friends of Rogers and Pudney traced their way along the blazed trail through the forest blackness to warn them of the impending danger. Upon the receipt of the alarming intelligence, the two families precipitately abandoned their homes, and beat a speedy retreat to the nearest garrison. The next day, accompanied by an adequate guard from the town, they returned to drive their cattle into safety. They were too late. The Indians had plundered and burnt their houses, destroyed their barns, killed a heifer and a steer belonging to Rogers, and spread such devastation through their orchard that but a single apple-tree remained standing. When the settlers turned from the smoking ashes and wasted acres to pursue their marauders, the forest had swallowed them up.

Although this disastrous and unexpected attack virtually ended the partisan fighting in that region, the disheartened Rogers and Pudney spent the remainder of the year in Suncook and Rumford, and from that distance planted and reaped what they might. In October, 1748, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was finally signed, and husbandry, industry, and colonisation could once more move forward unchecked in the valley of the Merrimac.

Social condition along the upper valley metamorphosed rapidly after 1748; and it was into a country filling with settlers, and brightened by new hopes of prosperity, that James Rogers moved back upon Lovewell's Farm a year later, setting Robert and his elder brothers once more at their wonted tasks. Indeed, the inpouring of fresh colonists into the region threatened for a time his tenure of the land for which he had toiled so hard. He had purchased it from the Massachusetts General Court; and now came Scotch farmers from east of the Merrimac, under the leadership of Archibald Stark, bearing more recent and more valid titles from John Mason's heirs. Rogers and Pudney hastened to engage a lawyer at Portsmouth, and in a petition to the proprietors which several others who had improved land in the neighborhood enforced, protested vigorously against any redistribution of acres which should ignore their claims. Their voices were heared, and in the new township of Starktown, as chartered in December, 1748, they and their sons were given adjacent shares on the site of their former fields, and in that part of the tract near which the present town of

Dunbarton stands . The terms of the charter provided for the settlement near them of fortyfive other families, each of whom was to have his own house and a clearing of three acres by June 1, 1750, and reserved also an ample endowment in land for a church and school. Their new neighbors began at once to fell the heavy woods which had lain untroubled about the great meadow, to raise their house timbers, and to fill the woodland paths with the heavy burr of their Scotch accent. By 1751 the community was sparsely but widely peopled, roads were projected to the east and south, and a stimulus was given to agriculture and land-investment under which Rogers seemed to have prospered. His position became for a time an enviably thriving one, in which he was apparently able to make considerable additions to his estate, for at various dates in 1751 and 1752 he bought most of the holdings of Pudney, and the shares of several of the Scotch assignees who were prevented from complying with the conditions of the charter.

In this life of a frontier farmer's son Robert Rogers was engaged until the tragic death of his father. In the winter of 1752 - 3 there came into the country one of James Rogers' old friends, Ebenezer Ayer of Haverhill, celebrated as a successful hunter. He made a camp on Walnut Slope, between Rogers' farm and the Merrimac River, and thence pursued his regular avocation of following bears, deer, and other game. In early spring he had once completed a day's sport, and at dusk had repaired to his rude hut; and as it was not yet late, and he had been unsuccessful, he was still on the outlook for a possible wild animal. The unfortunate Rogers,

dressed from head to foot in bearskins, and already bent by his years of labor, drew near the camp to pay his friend a visit. Deceived by the dusk of evening, the eager hunter shot and so mortally wounded him that almost before his children or his wife could be brought to his side, he died. There was an almost mordant irony in this sudden period put to a life that had fought through the dangers and hardships of a quarter-century to so recent prosperity, and Ayer could never after speak of the occurence without tears. But four of James Rogers' sons, including Robert, were arrived at manhood's estate, and the future of his family was at last assured.

In fact Robert Rogers was now twenty-two years old, of extraordinary physique and courage, and completely self-reliant. Of late years he had become an experienced hunter and guide in all the region thereabout, and more recently still had begun to make some agricultural ventures of his own. He had already bought a parcel of wooded land at Marrimac, half-way between Rumford and Methuen, for £70, and upon this, in the summer after his father's death, he began a clearing. A year later (1753) he commenced the cultivation of several acres there, and erected a house and barn, in which, during the autumn, he placed a tenant. He is variously referred to during these two summers as a " husbandman and yeoman " of Rumford, and a " housewright"of Merrimac; while we glean from other references to him that his winters, and his spare weeks generally, were spent in hardy and adventurous expeditions northward, as hunter and trader. " Between the years 1743 and 1753 ", he himself testified later, in the only

reference he ever made to his youth, " I was led to a general acquaintance both with the British and French settlements in North America, and especially with the uncultivated desert, the mountains, valleys, rivers, lakes, and several passes that lay between and contiguous to the said settlements. Nor did I content myself with the accounts I received from the Indians, but travelled over large tracts of country myself, which tended not more to gratify my curiosity than to inure me to hardship, and to qualify me for my later services ". His knowledge of the French towns could hardly have been obtained otherwise than as a petty trader, or a hunter-explorer. The nearest of them lay far to the north and west, above Memphremagog, Champlain, and the headwaters of the St. Francis - a journey to be measured only in days of hard travel. Intercourse between the French and the English, however, was not rare after the close of King George's War, and in one capacity or the other many opportunities must have offered the young man, already locally famed for his strength of limb and knowledge of the wood, to accompany expeditions beyond the border. His love for adventure and his geographical curiosity alone might account for the fact that, like Whittier's grandfather, he had repeatedly watched the moonlight play upon Norman cap and bodiced zone, reeling in dance among the northern pines, or in dusky wigwam or open camp had sat down to the moose and samp of a savage board. He may have helped build roads, such as that which Governor Wentworth projected in 1753 to Cohase Meadows, high up on the Connecticut, or have joined the official surveying and exploring parties which at this time were penetrating all upper Vermont and New

Hampshire. Parkman has suggested that he was probably engaged in smuggling; but in New England nefarious commerce was then almost exclusively a coastwise practise, and no such improbable hypothesis is required to explain why a young man of mettle should not always have contented himself with a farmer's narrow spere.

What is to be observed in that when in 1754 he had attained to some maturity, he appreciated fully the resources and temper of English border civilisation; he was acquainted with the language and customs of both French and Indians; the forest was a book whose pages he had cultivated until there were few of its problems, its hardships, or its dangers he could not master; and he knew with some intimacy all the land enclosed between the White Mountains, the nearer shore of the St. Lawrence, and the sources of the Hudson. His strength, endurance, and initiative, with many rougher and less admirable traits, were those of a frontiersman. And with 1754 there dawned a new epoch in his life.

II

As early as 1753, the summer Robert Rogers was engaged at Merrimac, all the omens of the sky, from the St. Lawrence and Penobscot to the Niagara and Ohio, threatened another French war. In the spring of that year Duquesne had sent out from Montreal an expedition which by June had built forts at Presqu'isle and Le Boeuf, and in August had occupied Venango, thus commanding the portages from Lake Erie to Alleghany. Throughout the summer the Indians of the Northwest - the Miami, Saux, Pottowattomy, Ojibway, and even some of the Iriquois - were submitting to the representatives of the French king with the most zealous protestations of fidelity, some evnn bringing in English scalps in earnest of their sincerity. Already Dinwiddie of Virginia had sent out troops to throw up a fort at the forks of the Ohio, and was laying those plans which, with the coming of autumn, were to introduce George Washington to the world. In the east preparations for war went as briskly on. During the summer of 1749 the first redoubts and palisades at Halifax, on the south coast of Acadia, had been erected, and the battallions of Louisbourg had marched in behind the ramparts of the most northern of English fortresses; and now under the lowering indications of conflict nearly one-third of the French inhabitants of the land, pastoral and listless as they were, were emigrating to their bretheren in the west. Simultaneously, international discussions showed that the theoretical claims of the two peoples were irreconcilable. The French extremists claimed to the heads of the waterways emptying into the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Ohio; the English extremists, basing their title upon the

wide territory overrun by the Six Nations, would have confined their rivals, outside Louisiana, to their meagre settlements in Ontario and Quebec. The conflict was clearly irrepressible.

For the colony of New Hampshire the avant-couriers of war were, as usual, sporadic outbreaks of violence and discontent among the sullen Indians who occupied the hinterland between themselves and Canada, and it was in the suppression of these inruptions that Rogers was first called into service. The northern colonies were not well prepared for the extremity that was upon them. As the Mohawk chief Hendrick told their governors at the Albany conference of 1750, they had but to look about to see that their country was bare of fortifications. " It is but a step from Canada hither ", he said, " and the French may come at any time and turn you out of doors. Like men, they are fortifying everywhere. But you are like women, exposed and open, without fortifications ". As the fever and tension of war increased, the tribes' responsiveness to it kept pace. In December, 1752, the Assembly authorized the cutting of a road to the fertile Cohase Meadows, one hundred miles up on the Connecticut; and the appearance in 1753 of a company of woodsmen and guards in that extreme region, surveying the proposed highway, threw the Indians of the St. Francis tribe into a state of restless uneasiness. Although the scheme was not pushed, they at once began a course of depredations and raids. The spring of 1754 witnessed petty attacks upon Stevenstown, Conticook, and other townships north of Rumford in such numbers that in early summer Governor Wentworth ordered out a company, under Colonel Blanchard, to patrol the upper reaches of the Merrimac.In this company Rogers enlisted on August 23, and served until September 21 - the third time, except

for various brief periods of militia duty, that he had been in the military employ of the colony. He was a valued acc ssion to the corps, for of the country over which Blanchard attempted to extend a fan-like grip he had already and intimate knowledge. He did not, however, see real action; although the pestering inroads of the Indians continued, Blanchard did not even come to a skirmish with them, and the penurious Assembly forced the dissolution of the command within two months. He was therefore free during the autumn to return to his later harvest, or to whatever adventurous pursuits he chose.

But not f r long. Some weeks he spent in rather desultory employment near Rumford, hunting, farming, and selling cattle, and then, in midwinter, as belligerent measures went on apace, found employment as an enlisting officer. On May 28, 1754, the troops of Washington, debouching into the valley of the Monongahela, and encountering there the courier party of Coulon de Jumonville, had received the order to fire, and so had opened a war that for three continents was one of the bloodiest and most important of the modern period. The news of Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity on July 4 - just twenty-two years before the day he and his associates were to make so memorable, - found the troops of Carolina, Virginia, and New York all mobilizing for western campaigns, and the burgesses of Pennsylvania and Maryland granting to the common cause all that their poverty or parsimony would allow. New England had always suffered so much from French war-parties that she was eager to accoutre herself for battle. Shirley of Massachusetts wrung a large grant of money from the General Court, marched himself to forestall French occupation of the Chaudiere, and despatched Captain Winslow

to build two forts on the Kennebec. In New Hampshire Wentworth had already detached a troop to search for a French fort falsily rumored to be under construction on the Connecticut. As the first snows fell, plans were being matured among the upper tier of colonies for a northern expedition, at first vaguely designated as "against Canad ", but as the months went by clearly aimed against Crown Point, always a thorn in New England's side. As an enlisting agent for this last army Rogers found remunerative employment, as well as an opportunity to provide a small future command for himself. We first hear of him in this connection in January, 1755, when without stopping to get permission from Governor Wentworth, he accepted employment under Major Joseph Frye of Massachusetts to raise twenty men for the Bay Colony's quota.

This occupation he was compelled to interrupt to extricate himself from grave legal difficulties. Early in February he was suspected of being implicated with others in counterfeiting the Bills of Credit of the provinces, a crime punishable according to the inhumane laws of the period by the extreme penalty. On February 7 he was arrested and tried before the Inferior Court at Rumford, with fifteen others, and sufficient evidence was adduced against him that he was placed under bond of £500 to appear before the Superior Court at Portsmouth on February 12. It was established during Rogers' examination that while he was hunting near Rumford the previous autumn, he had been approached by one Sullivan of Boston, a maker of counterfeit notes, who had offered to buy three yoke of oxen which Rogers kept for sale, and showing him a handful of new bills, had given him one of twenty shillings for pasturing his horse. Hoping to get a large quantity of the counterfeit money, Rogers had

brought his oxen to the place appointed, but had found that Sullivan, alarmed, was already fled from the country. He testified also that he had asked Captain Blanchard and others to become a partner with him in counterfeiting, " to find out if they were concerned in the matter "; and that they had refused and had warned him of the business in the strongest terms. Four of those who were tried with Rogers were sent to jail, and five others were admitted to bond. He was badly frightened, and went at once to Portsmouth to find means of clearing himself; meanwhile twenty-four men whom he had enlisted for Massachusetts had gathered there, and a happy thought struck him. Finding that his own province was greatly in need of volunteers, and of capable enlisting officers to drum them up, he secured a commission from Wentworth himself, and the next day turned over all his soldiers to the New Hampshire government. When the hour set for his trial arrived a week later, he had so curried favor that he was admitted as King's evidence, and escaped scot free. He returned up-country, and set about registering soldiers for Colonel Blanchard, who was to command the single regiment which the province was sending against Crown Point. Here he met with marked success, until Fryc, with the backing of Shirley, complained to Wentworth of his conduct, stating that Rogers had secured his first volunteers by the use of King's money, and demanding that he be given exemplary punishment for treacherously and illegally returning them for New Hampshire. Wentworth, however, shielded his subordinate by replying that Fryc's agreement with Rogers was utterly irregular, and that the latter, " whom I am told is recognized for a capital offense ", was out of his reach. Indeed although in April fresh evidence against

Rogers as a counterfeiter was produced by a farmer of Exeter, who had received bad notes from him, he was not further molested. The New Hampshire quota of five hundred men was now almost complete, and ready to march; the Assembly acting in unison with those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, had voted £30,000 toward the expense of the joint attack on Crown Point; and his experienced soldiers could not be kept waiting in the lawcourts.

In Blanchard's regiment Rogers, who had enlisted more men than any other agent, and who, as an old friend and subordinate of the commander, had well proved his merit as a fighter, was already at the end of spring appointed captain of the first company. His avenue to distinction was now fairly open. The plan of the first campaign of the war General Braddock, in conference at Alexandria, Virginia, with the governors of the colonies, had determined upon two months previously. The commander-in-chief was himself to cross the Alleghanies and reduce Fort Duquesne; Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was to head an expedition against Fort Frontenac and Niagara on the Great Lakes; Moucton was to take ship against the French posts which threatened Nova Scotia; and Sir William Johnson, a tall, strong, jovial Irishman whom Admiral Sir Peter Warren had placed in charge of his extensive lands on the Mohawk years before, and who had since been made Indian superintendent, was to lead the long dreamed-of attack upon Crown Point. Thanks to the zeal of the northern colonies, when the last-named commander hastened back to Albany with Braddock's instructions, he found his forces everywhere mustering with arms and stores, and ready to begin their march. The troops were of hiterogenous origin. Connecticut had voted

twelve hundred men, Rhode Island four hundred, Massachusetts twelve hundred, New York eight hundred. In May and June, together with swarms of Mohawk Indians, they all began to converge toward their appointed camp at the " Flats " above Albany; and in the general movement the New Hampshire regiment at once entered upon its term of service. Rogers' company was the earliest in motion.

The first instructions given to the regiment to march were blundering. Ignorant, like all his counselors, of the actual geography of the country about Lakes George and Champlain, Wentworth on May 28 anounced his intention of sending the regiment against Crown Point by a short cut through Cohase Meadows on the high Connecticut. A rendezvous was chosen on its banks some miles above Lancaster, and - so Wentworth thought - four days across the wilds of Vermont from the English headquarters above Albany. Far from being expeditious, a route more roundabout, more exposed to attack, and more poorly calculated to assist the forward movement of Johnson's main force from the south, could scarcely have been chosen. Shirley immediately protested, but for the present the governor's instructions could only be obeyed. While the remainder of the troops were gathering at Canterbury, Rogers with his fifty men was sent on to Cohase, there to build a fort at the rendezvous. This rough rampart, thrown up during the month of June, he named Fort Wentworth, and after posting a sufficient guard behind its walls, at once returned south. Meanwhile, Johnson had warned Wentworth early in June against going any farther northward, and the main column of provincials, already straggling through the forest to Stevenstown, was recalled to a secure line of march. On July 20 Blanchard and his men set out along the proper route, by way of Charleston and

and Fort Dummer and arrived on August 12 at Albany. The regiment rested a few days in town, and was then sent to guard the companies and wagons moving slowly up the Hudson to Fort Edward.

Here, at the end of three weeks, Rogers was given the employment in which he was to make his distinctive military work, and for which his talents designed him. While Johnson's army, preceded by squadrons of axemen hewing the way, pushed on to Lake George, Blanchard was ordered to defend Fort Edward, still incomplete; but the tall young captain was called in to interview the general, to whom he had been recommended as a person well acquainted with the haunts and passes of the enemy, and the Indian mode of fighting. The shrewd, frank baronet was impressed with Rogers' presence and speech. His army, for the most part a badly organized concourse of farmers and farmers' sons, pressing into a forest alive with French spies and hostile Indians, stood in due need of a body of efficient scouts; and he saw his opportunity to use such a frontiersman to advantage. The bold young provincial was therefore at once detached from Blanchard's command, and ordered, with a part of selected and hardy woodsmen, to hold himself in readiness for special ranging excursions. Within a few days he was sent away to follow and explore the upper distances of the Hudson, to the west of Lake George, and was so absent when, on September 8, the French army which Dieskau had marched too rashly to the head of the lake was defeated, and its leader killed. This barren victory, closing for a moment major operations in that quarter, gave only a further impulse to his forays and scouts, for the defensive columns at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, settling pugnaciously down before William-Henry, the new port on Lake George, required constant surveillance. Within a month he had

proved his indispensability to Johnson, and as the colonial legions melted away to the proportions of a large garrison he was fairly divorced from the frontier settlement, with all its peaceful dangers to such a nature, and wedded to the excursions and alarms of war. As the remaining battalions established themselves behind their new bulwarks, he found himself designated for the special services of irregular warfare, at first under the direct command of Johnson himself, later under the commissioners sent to the fort by the colonies.

Indeed, the incidents of the first six months sufficed to establish Rogers' reputation and position. Before the close of 1755 he had made seven sallies from Fort William-Henry, had mapped in detail the French works at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, had thoroughly explored the surrounding country, and had repeatedly taken prisoners whose examination yielded facts of the greatest value concerning the enemy's position. His squads, which numbered from four to fifty, he handled, in Johnson's words, with " unparalleled boldness and usefulness ". He was the eyes of the English camp. In March and February of 1756 he continued his tactics with signal success, twice in the bitter cold night marching sixty men within hailing-distance of the French forts, and setting in flames the villages under their very walls. In a winter noted for the general bristleness with which the war was conducted, his long scouts furnished the only illumination on the page of affairs. The northern colonies, deeply interested in the reduction of Crown Point, were especially impressed by his services, and as the spring assemblies convened official notice was taken of his exploits. In late February the New York house granted him 125 Spanish milled pieces of eight " as a gratuity for his

extraordinary courage, conduct, and diligence against the French and their Indians ". A proposal for a similar measure was made in New Hampshire; while Shirley, quite forgetting his tod score, twice urged the Massachusetts Court to show a like mark of their approbation.

Upon their refusal, he resolved with characteristic zeal to take some step which would ensure Rogers' continuance in his present station, and increase the scope of his possiblities for service; and in March sent for him to come to Boston. In the council chamber of the old Province House the bent, energetic little governor handed the young officer, with many compliments, a commission as captain of an independent company of rangers. Specific directions as to their enlistment among woodsmen used to travelling and hunting, and their use in harassing the French, accompanied the commission. Within a fortnight Rogers had attracted to his standard the requisite number of tried frontiersmen, and sending a part with his brother Richard to Albany, marched with the rest across the forest-covered hills of lower Vermont. The manner of his arrival was characteristic. Emerging on a bright May morning from the woods near the enemy's post, he lay in wait opposite, hoping some party might venture across to be attacked. In the afternoon and evening four or five hundred gaily-uniformed grenadiers, piloted by Indians in war-paint, paddled loiteringly past; but although the English kept their posts till ten o'clock next day, they found no opportunity to ambush them. At that hour they discovered a herd of cattle grazing close behind them, and shot more than a score, whose tongues they found a great refreshment. The reports of their guns, unfortunately, were heared by the French, and eleven canoes of armed men crossed the lake so

directly and threateningly toward them that they were forced to disperse to escape their pursuers. Later they passed down a lake on a raft, seeing as they did so the French soldiery drawn up on glittering parade, with a squadron of interested savages watching them, beside the " old carrying-place " of Ticonderoga.

Beginning with October,1755, and continuing nearly six years, all Rogers expeditions, adventures, and exploits, are recorded in his journals; - dryly, unambitiously, but with a detail in spite of itself flames at some passages into vividness. The forces he commanded, and the magnitude of the operations in which he engaged, grew from small beginnings until he was among the most renowned and efficient of provincial commanders; the spectacular gest, the bold dash, of his achievement was always the same. No branch of American arms of the period was so glamoriously adventurous, so active, dangerous, and fascinating; none balanced so well the unique piquancy and seduction of woods campaigning against its constant perils and privations. The first four weary years that the war dragged on about Crown Point were emblazoned alone by his feats. With headquarters at William-Henry, his command held in leash all the debatable ground that lay to the north, and ranged over steep and valley in pursuit of battle or subtle information. The two beautiful lakes, George and Champlain, with the hills, the vast woods, the brooks and ponds that environed them, were in all seasons and weathers their constant arena, and a home of wonderful variety and beauty. Now, jocund in summer, they made their daring dashes upon the placid bosom which for miles mirrored back the surrounding rock and mountain, paddling their canoes noiselessly along shores whose drooping foliage made for them an embowered lane, and

slipping past islands asleep in the haze of an August dreamland; in a deathlike silence broken only by the screaming of the jay caught in the pines a hundred feet above, and the slumbrous slouching of the wind through the sumac and ivy. Now, in frozen winter, they broke a midnight camp as the rising moon threw its chill reflection over the glitering waste of forest and vale, to resume their march or under a wan and dying sun threaded their way on snow-shoes along the same ice-bound stream, under birches and alders stooping with their feathery burden. The fascination of the surprise, of the sharp report that rang over the sleeping hill, of the gloomy ambush and the breathless pursuit or flight, was stronger with them than the fear of ever-present death, or the hope of peace and comfort. From bingeoning spring till gorgeous autumn contact with nature filled their hearts with hardy energy. Nor were their services ever insignificant. With their increasing strength and prestige they kept the whole region, and every French or Indian encampment, under continuous survey. They reconnoitred their forts, took prisoners to extort information, intercepted provisions, fired grain-ricks and houses, killed cattle, captured bateaux, and reported the most trivial movement of troops. Their vigilance and pugnacity kept them always penetrating the enemy's lines, engaging his outparties in hornet-like skirmishes, retiring with volleys into the darkness of an unforeseen ambuscade, and stealing upon his intrenchments and sentries.

Rogers' command was steadily augmented. On July 20, 1756, he was given a second company, captured by his brother Richard, and in the next month thirty Stockbridge Indians were placed under his direction, to serve upon missions which required more endurance and sly daring than calm judgement; while during

the late autumn, two new companies, under Captain Spikeman and Hobbs, were ordered up to spend the winter at William-Henry. In one of these Robert's brother James was ensign. With the full advent of spring two more companies were raised, one from the Jerseys under Captain Burgin, the other from inactive regiments of English regulars. Still another was afterwards added, so that during the greater portion of the three years campaigning about Crown Point which followed 1755, Rogers commanded seven or eight companies, the whole forming a perfectly unified and coherent battalion, although its various parts were often dispersed on widely different errands. His comprehensive authority over the body was recognized early in 1758, when Abercombie appointed him a major commanding all the rangers in His Majesty's service. Thenceforth he directed the movement of the whole corps, retaining, however, command of an especial company with which he himself undertook the most dangerous and onerous expeditions. With him or under him at different times such famous and capable soldiers as John Stark, Israel Putnam, and James Dalyell served their apprenticeship. These rangers are among the most picturesque and colorful of all the troops which have served on the American Continent, for both their temper and appearance answered well to their rough and audacious life. Most of them were the resolute sons of the border villages and farms, inured, like their commander, to the fatigues of harassing and unbelievable journeys, the extremes of heat and cold, and distressing privations of food and shelter during long periods; fearless, steady of nerve, and resourceful of mind. A few were true Puritans; many more, like Rogers, added to a stern forcefulness other characteristics by no means so praiseworthy, and were rough and

drunken when off duty, utterly unscrupulous in private morals, and malignantly cruel in battle. In active campaigning, withal, they were brave, orderly, and efficient. There was the same want of smooth coordination between their large private life and their hard fighting capacity that marked the buccaneers of Drake and Hawkins. They wore a uniform which varied slightly in the different companies, but which in all was only a military variation of the ordinary garb of hunter and trapper; and each carried a smooth-bore firelock, with sixty rounds of powder and ball, and a heavy hatchet. When life in the field was one of infinite vigilance and hourly readiness for action. Except upon marshy ground, they marched in single file, far enough apart that one shot might not kill two men, and with a cloud of skirmishes to the front and sides. The usual fords and paths they carefully avoided, and in passing along a large body of water, kept at such a distance that no hostile ambuscade could cut off their retreat. At every suspicious thicket and hedgy bank the stopped to reconnoitre. Any considerable force of the enemy was hotly engaged in the scattering, galling Indian style, from behind logs and heavy covert of shrubs and bushes, and when overwhelmed in numbers the Rangers retired with a slow, enchafing fire until they reached a defensible eminence. Their unerring aim would check a blackbird's swift flight in mid-air, or bring down a chattering squirrel as it ran along the topmost branch. When encamped for the night, they posted their sentries insilent groups of six, two of whom were constantly alert, so as to avoid the necessity of relief from the main body. At dawn, the hour of stealthy Indian attacks, they were always awake and in position to reply a surprise. Some of their forced marches,

were almost incredible. In midwinter they would skate down the crystal lakes, and in summer send their light canoes shooting over their glassy surface, always hugging the shore, and moving preferably by night to avoid detection. To surprise and thwart the enemy was their external ambition. And of this rough and stalwart crew Rogers, with his commanding physique, his undying energy and powers of woodland leadership, his ready wit and rollicking bonhomie, was the heart and informing spirit.

Out of the almost monotonously mettlesome succession of raids, skirmishes, taking of prisoners, and spying trips of the rangers stand forth in relief two principal engagements. The first occurred in January, 1757, soon after the arrival of Abercrombie and Londoun with the whole army of the center at Fort Edward. On the seventh of the month Rogers took seventy-five men, among them Lieutenant John Stark, and skated down the lake, frozen deep and wind-swept of a heavy snow, until fianlly he turned to the northwest and entered the woods. His soldiers had provided themselves with snowshoes, and with these they pushed on northward, now tacking to the east now to the west, but keeping always several miles to the left of the glittering waste of Lake George and Lake Champlain, and moving single file over iron-bound swamps, iceclad rocks, through thickets drifted high with snow and under firs and pines bowed with an icy weight. At night they bivouacked in the lee of a tall hill, scraping away the snow from the frozen ground, and throwing down their beds of spruce and pine bough about a blazing campfire. The morning of the twenty-first, dawning with a cold rain which multiplied the exertions and discomfort of their travel, discovered them breaking camp in the deep woods half way between Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

The gusts and flaws of the unseasonable day increased. Shielding their guns as best they could from the dripping branches, and plunging at every step into the deep slush of the forest glades, they marched eastward t ward the dazzling bosom of Lake Champlain, three miles away. As they drew near the edge of the ice, they discovered a sledge, drawn by a team of heavy Norman horses, emerging from a nearby-headland, and obviously bound from Ticonderoga to Crown Point. At once Rogers dispatched Stark along the bank to cut off its progress, and himself prepared to sally out to intercept it in the rear. But even as he watched, eight or ten more sleds emerged from cover, and pursued the track of the first. In post haste he sent a messenger to warn his lieutenant not to show himself, but it was too late. Already Stark was upon the ice, and the whole train had taken alarm and turned in gallpping flight back toward Ticonderoga. By a quick pursuit the rangers captured three of the sledges with seven men, but the rest,with their drivers and guards, escaped. The prisoners were Languedoc Frenchmen, and when interrogated, revealed an alarming state of affairs. At Ticonderoga there lay between the rangers and Fort William-Henry - besides - three hundred and fifty regular troops, three hundred fresh Canadians and Indians, spoiling for a fight, and prepared to march upon an instant's notice. Rogers perceived that the fugitives would give the alarm within the hour, and that only decisive measures and the best of luck could save his command from total extinction.

With a sharp word of command he ordered his men to return on the double-quick to their bivouac of the previous night, and there rekindle their fires to dry their guns for battle. Midday was past before they had completed

this operation, and they at once set out southward, pushing their way through the dripping foliage and over the snowy, broken ground. In this manner they advanced half a mile, and then commenced the ascent of a steep hill, even more densely wooded than its neighbors. As their foremost men were but five yards from the summit, a furious volley blazed forth from the guns of more than two hundred of the enemy, arranged in a semi-circle along the ridge above. Two men were killed on the spot and others wounded; among the latter Rogers himself, whose scalp was grazed by a bullet. The rangers after immediately returning the fire, gave way in some disorder, and were hotly pursued by the enemy to the opposite crest. Here they made a stubborn stand, finally beating back their assailants for the moment, and gaining time to ensconce themselves for a determined resistance. Twice the Canadians attempted to dislodge them by a flank attack, and repeatedly they advanced in force from the front; but having the advantage of the ground, and sheltered by large trees, the English stood firm and did heavy execution. As the drizzly afternoon closed in an early dusk, Rogers received a ball through his hand and wrist. One of the lieutenants bound the wound with the ribbon of his queue, however, and the captain, although disabled from loading his gun, continued to encourage his men. The French tried threats and cajolery, as well as force, to persuade the English to surrender, and calling Rogers by name, repeatedly gave him " the strongest assurances of their esteem and friendship ". A constant fire was nevertheless maintained until darkness shut down, when the rangers were enabled to creep away, and furtively make off homeward. They had lost fourteen killed, and twelve wounded or missing, but had inflicted far more

serious upon the French.

It was this smart little battle, capping so bold and terrible a dash, that first realy spread abroad the reputation of Rogers. The commander in chief, Abercombie, sent him his especial thanks, and strongly commended his merits to Lord Loudon. Abercombie's nephew, who had before this accompanied Rogers upon a short expedition, and conceived a real personal esteem for him, wrote him from Albany that " you cannot imagine how all ranks of people here are pleased with your conduct and your men's behaviour ".Every news letter of the time mentioned the affair with commendation, and coupled with accounts of his former dashes, the story went east and west. As spring drew on, the planter along the Delaware or the farmer upon the Merrimac stopped his plow in the steaming furrow to listen to the passing courier's version of it, while the petty tradesman of Boston or Charleston leaned over the counter to retail it, with exaggerated details, to his intent customer.

The second engagement, which occurred more than a year after, did not have so happy an issue. For some months Rogers had been confined to the fort by his wound and by an attack of the smallpox, a general epidemic of which more than decimated his troops, and carried off his brother Richard. He was then marched to Albany, and embarked for Halifax, where - until the expedition then on foot against Louisburg was abandoned - his forces were broken into scouting columns, gangs of hay-makers, and press-gangs in pursuit of deserters. In early autumn he and his depletedcompanies were remanded to Fort Edward, for William-Henry had been captured and destroyed during his absence by Montcalm. He was engaged during the winter in training fresh

recruits, and no noteworthy expedition until March. On March 10, howeverhe was ordered to Ticonderoga, with but 180 men, although he had asked for more and considered double the number necessary. The French fort at this moment contained four hundred regular soldiers, while near it lay a large body of Indians and Canadians; and through the recent escape of a deserter to their ranks, the enemy were upon the qui vive for Rogers' approach. For two days his men streamed silently through the frozen forest, over several feet of snow, and by the night of the eleventh were upon the narrows of Lake George. Here they bivouacked, keeping sentries far out through the gloom of the woods, and patrolling the neighboring portions of the lake. The next day they pushed on upon skates, alarmed once by a dog trotting far out upon the ice, and again near dusk by some phosphorescent patches of rotten wood on the shore, which their apprehension mistook for hostile camp-fires. On the thirteenth they found themselves in territory distinctly French, and exchanged the cold lake for the secret, hushed heart of the wilderness. Traveling upon snowshoes, they kept on along the crest of a line of ridges which here overlooked the advanced camps of the main French army at Ticonderoga, and by noon had reached a point west of Bald Mountain, near the bold promontory now called Rogers' rock. Here they refreshed themselves until three, and then again set off over ground so rough and rocky that for ease in walking they kept near the bed of a small rivulet. To the right rose the steep promontory that overlooked the lake, and all about the naked, icy waste, the tops of the highest bushes peeping from beneath four feet of snow.

Within an hour the advance came running back with the information that a hundred Indians were approaching upon

ice of the brook. Rogers immediately drew up his men under cover, their guns commanding the bed of the stream, and their backs to the hill; And when the incautious advance guard of the enemy arrived opposite his center, gave the order to fire. Half the Indians were killed on the spot, and as the rest fled in confusion, Rogers, believing this troop their main body, gave the order for a pursuit. He was rudely surprised. As the dashing rangers poured along the stream were met by a fresh array of several hundred more Canadians and savages, with some French officers commanding. Fifty of them were shot down, and the rest driven back in disorder, a yelling firing mob at their heels. With his accustomed expedition Rogers rallied his men, and formed them upon the steep slope to their right. Twice he repulsed his assailants with severe loss, and twice they returned to the attack, reducing each time the number of defenders. The third assault continued for an hour and a half, during which time the commixed enemy were never twenty yards from the rangers, and often intermingled with them and fought hand to hand. Until near sunset the uproar of firing and war-whoops continued, by which time more than a hundred of Rogers' men lay dead or wounded in the bloody snow, and a flanking guard, which he had stationed on a neighboring hill, had surrenderd. The Indians were on the point of gaining the height in the rear, and as the sun sank Rogers with twenty survivors made up the steeps and escaped to the southeast. Tradition relates that the chagrined commander, having fallen behind his men to fire a parting shot, escaped only by reversing his snowshoes and sliding down the steep descent of the mountain five hundred feet to the lake; and that the Indians, considering this wonderful feat significant of the interposition

of the Great Spirit, at once gave up further pursuit.

In the fight, Rogers lost 130 of his 180 men; none of the wounded escaped, for the savages either despatched them on the spot, or left them to perish from exposure. He states that for his part he killed 150 and wounded as many more; but at best the action was but a sorry affair for the English. The major was inclined to place the blame for the " unfortunate scout " upon the soldiers of Colonel Haviland, who " doubtless with reason, doubtless with ability to vindicate his conduct ", sent him forth with such an " incomprehensibly reduced party ". " What we should have done had we been 400 or more strong I will not pretend to determine ", he concludes his account of the defeat. There can be but little doubt that Haviland erred in allowing him so small a command, and that in this he was responsible in major part for the disaster; but even Rogers' account does not attempt to disguise the fact that for once, at the moment of the attack, he was wanting in judgment and caution.

Lesser incidents indicative of the ranger's daring impassivity in the face of danger, of their uncomplaining endurance of extreme hardship, and of other characteristics reaching from the merely picturesque to the grimly or naively humorous, lie thickly sown through the pages of the Journals. To enumerate them would be impossible. Such words as these which Rogers literally begins his record, may well represent a whole chapter of suffering and weariness.

" We approached very near their fort by night, and were driven by the cold (now very severe) to take shelter in one of their evacuated huts; before day there was a fall of snow which obliged us, with all possible speed, to march homeward.

After being almost exhausted with hunger, cold, and fatigue, we had the good fortune to kill two deer for refreshment ".

In March, 1759, during a period of excessive cold, twenty-three of Rogers' scouts were frostbitten and were perforce sent back exhausted, " under the charge of a careful sergent "; but the main body, almost overcome at times, pushed on until, when two thirds had frozen their feet, the object of their expedition was attained. Again and again they slept unprotected in the most inclement weather, forbade by caution the use of fire, and by expediency the use of blankets. Twice during his campaigns his men were overtaken upon Champlain by sudden squalls, and once a single craft was overturned and its occupants drowned. Scarcely one of his scoresof raids was performed without fatigue, pain, and the loss of life, and often as his achievements were spectacular, still oftener they were the result merely of obscure, persevering labor, bought by a triumph over difficulties which less hardened soldiers would have deemed insuperable. But some of the more colorful events cannot be omitted. On October 31, 1756, Rogers and his squad lay all night within three hundred yards of Crown Point; and at daybreak, as the buglas sang from the parapets, he advanced alone much nearer, wriggling along behind fresh bushes which he held upright in his hands. So many soldiers came out that he lay as if he were petrified, until one approached so near that he had to kill him with his fusee, and hurriedly dash back into the forest. In October, 1757, he tried to take a prisoner near Ticonderoga, but unsuccessfully, until he marched his men boldly down the fort's road upon a sentry, hailed him in French, and spirited him away, " cutting his breeches and coat from him that he might march with the greater ease and expedition ".

In midsummer of 1756, again, on nights all too moonlit and calm for his purpose , he took fifty men in five whaleboats down Lake Champlain, and passed with muffled oars under the very walls of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, so close that " they heared the voices of the sentinel calling the watchword ". During the day they lurked beneath drooping branches in the shadow of the shore, with bateaux passing and repassing on the hot, gleaming expanse, and even landing noisily near them. When the whaleboats, abandoned later in the year, were discovered at the head of Lake Champlain, Bougainville, the astounded French commander, propounded five different hypothesis for their being there. It was this same party who in June boarded and captured a schooner of forty tons bound for Canada, and guarded by two lighters and as Rogers honestly confesses, " we sunk and destroyed their vessels and cargoes, which consisted chiefly of wheat and flour, wine and brandy; some few casks of the latter we carefully concealed ".

In the closing years of the war, Rogers and his now large command played a not insignificant part. Early in 1758 Loudon was succeeded by Abercombie, and the final active campaigns were set on foot. By the end of July the fortress of Louisburg was in the hands of the English; by the end of August, Fort Frontenac; by the end of November, Fort Duquesne. Meanwhile Abercombie at Fort Edward had ordered Rogers to muster his eight companies before June 10, and was himself engaged in bringing his whole army up to Lake George. By June 22 he and Lord Howe had 16000 men encamped upon the site of Fort William Henry, and on July 5 embarked them in bateaux for Ticonderoga. Rogers had spent the preceding month, with fifty rangers, in scouting over the ground which the new movement was intended to conquer;

and at the moment of embarkation he had secured complete new plans of the fort and the Indian encampment at Ticonderoga, and maps of the country at the foot of Lake George and the head of Lake Champlain, with the intervening portage. And when the army moved forward toward the most important grapple of the year, one hoped to crush the French center and destroy Montcalm's chief army, he had his 600 men all in readiness. In Abercrombie's advance, his ill-judged and disastrous attack upon Montcalm's strongly entrenched position, and his disgraceful retreat, Rogers' corps held a prominent and honorable position. Like many others, the young major has left his testimony to the bravery of the sight as, on a fair July morning, with music, flags, the glitter of arms, the parade of bright uniforms, and the flash of oars, the whole army moved down the sparkling, mountain-circled breast of Lake George. His corps held its place on the left of the army throughout the day and night, and when early in the morning the flotilla reached a point near the foot of the lake, he and Howe went on together to reconnoitre a landing. When the army had been safely disembarked, and had commenced its march toward the head of Lake Champlain, his rangers again constituted the advance guard, leading the way through the mazes of the forest; and as such they aided in the destruction of a venturesome squadron of the French, which, after killing Lord Howe, had been caught between the leading columns of the English army. The next day Abercrombie pushed steadily on toward the head of Lake Champlain, where lay the main army of the enemy, only 6000 strong. On the morrow, July eighth, Rogers was ordered at sunrise to beat the French within the breastworks and abattis which Montcalm had thrown up across the rocky promontory of Ticonderoga." The line followed the top of a ridge,

along which it zig-zagged in such a manner that the whole front could be swept by flank-fires of musketry and grape. From its central part the ground sloped away like a natural glacis; while at the sides it was uneven and broken. Over this whole space, to the distance of a musket-shot from the works, the forest was cut down, and the trees left lying where they fell, with tops turned outward, forming one vast abattis, like a forest laid flat by a hurricane. But the most formidable obstruction was immediately along the front of the breastwork, where the ground was covered with heavy boughs, overlapping and interlaced, with sharpened points bristling into the face of the assailants like the quills of a porcupine ".It was to find these works that Rogers, with the assistance of several provincial regiments, drove the French pickets; his men and the other colonials then lay down in detachments, through whose intervals the regulars advanced to the assault. Beyond all doubt it was fortunate that having opened that hopeless charge he was forced to lie and watch the ranks of his compatriots shattered and swept away by the withering fire the French poured into the military clearing. The full body of the British grenadiers was sent forward to storm the impregnable works before the provincials were allowed to attempt them; and not for a full hour could he have entered the tangled arena swept by the bullets of the enemy. Of his part in the dreadful carnage of the later afternoon we know little. " We toiled with repeated attacks for four hours ", he writes, and there is no reason to doubt that his men, like some of their provincial comrades, found their way to the very foot of the abattis. When at seven o'clock the battle closed and retreat was ordered, the general directed him to bring up the rear as the humiliated

army fell back to its starting-point below Lake George.

Within two days of the battle Rogers' ranging service commenced afresh, for his defeated commander was anxious to learn the state in which Montcalm's army lay at the opposite end of the lake; after a time, moreover it became necessary to check the war parties which the French were constantly sending out to harass Abercrombie's communications with Fort Edward. A Canadian partisan corps organized by Martin in imitation of the plan of the rangers was especially active, and in two attacks within ten days killed 100 English soldiers engaged in convoying wagons through the woods. Enraged at the last of these, Rogers with his rangers, Israel Putnam with some provincials, and Captain Dalyell with a number of regulars were sent off in pursuit toward the eastern extremity of Lake Champlain. For eight days they explored the bank[A] August woods unsuccessfully; until in their return, having passed the night on the high cleared land where stood old Fort Anne, a crumbling survival of former wars, they prepared in the morning to strike camp and march in home. They were south and east of the main English force, and in their whole recent march had seen no signs of the proximity of French or Indians; so that, forgetting the caution which had heretofore led him to enjoin the strictest silence upon his men, Rogers banteringly challenged Putnam to a contest of marksmanship, and cut a rude bulls-eye upon a neighboring tree. Martin's corps of Canadians and Indians heard the shots, and at once took steps to surprise their reckless enemies. A thicket-starting, heavily tangled and interlaced growth of shrubbery covered the long glacis about the old fort, and was penetrated only by a winding, gently sloping path. As the mixed English columns of scouts, regulars, and provincials issued

in single file down this still-dewy lane and out into the forest beyond, they were met by the concentrated fire of 500 men, lying in a semicircle about its head. For a moment all was confusion; Putnam, leading the men, was jerked into the lines of the enemy and taken prisonrr; the advance guard left without a commander, first recoiled upon itself and then dropped behind bushes to answer with a vear; scattering fire. Rogers and Dalyell, in the extreme rear, struggled hurriedly forward through the brush to rally their men; and before the sun had mounted a half-hour had them replying spiritedly and steadily to their opponents. Four of Saint's successive attacks were repulsed, and in an hour his ranks were so broken that he glad to allow his men to scatter back into the forest. After burying his own dead, Rogers pursued his way unmolested to Fort Edward. He was universally praised for his coolness and bravery, and a week later the general-in-chief, anxious to report even small successes, wrote to Pitt that " Rogers deserves much to be commended ". The engagement was widely reported in colonial gazettes and newspapers.

In the final successful movement of the next year against Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Montreal, Rogers bore only the role of commander of an advance guard and force of picket-scouts. In June and July of 1759, Gage and Amherst, the latter the new commander-in-chief, moved down Lake George with a force so strong that it required all the ranger's 700 men to serve as a screen, and as guides through the various forest roads. In besieging Ticonderoga Amherst drew a lesson from Abercombie's failure of the preceding year,and brought up his heavy cannon to blow its protecting redoubts to pieces. On the night of July 26 the French, preparing to evacuate their indefensible position.

left a match burning in the magazine, and took to their boats with all their stores. At this hour Rogers happened to have sixty of his rangers in three bateaux upon the lake, where his men were making a nocturnal attemp to saw through a boom of timbers which had been thrown out below the fort, and which prevented the English boats from passing by to cut off the French retreat. He had scarce reached the boom when, with a loud reverberation, the soft summer night was lit up by the flaring explosion of the fort's magazine. Hastily he drew his boats alongside the floating timbers, and opened fire upon the enemy, with such success as to drive ten of their most heavily laden craft ashore. Three days later a party of his scouts brought back news of the desertion and dismantling of Crown Point.

Two main services of the war remained to be performed by Rogers. - the destruction of the St. Francis Indians and the reception of the surrender of the western posts. For the first the whole frontier breathed its relieved thanks. During three quarters of a century the Abenaki, Penacook, and shreds of other tribes which dwelt near the junction of the St. Francis and St. Lawrence, Catholic but still savage, had been the scourge of the New England border; Rogers as a boy had known the horror of their raids, for it was one of their parties which had burned his father's home; and now, partly by reason of the long hatred of the colonists for them, partly for their recent violation of the rights of a party of truce, they were singled out to feel the specific anger of the victorious British. In September Amherst gave Rogers two hundred men, and ordered him to "take revenge for the infamous cruelties and barbarities of the Indian scoundrels"; a command which he prepared to obey with the more alacrity that " to his

own knowledge, in six years time they had carried into captivity and murdered 600 persons ". In whaleboats he slipped down Lake Champlain to its north end, eluding the French sloops still patrolling those waters; and hiding his craft in Missiquoi Bay, where he left two friendly Indians to guard them, struck out on the long overland journey toward St. Francis. On the evening of the second day the two Indians ran panting into camp with the startling news that four hundred French had discovered his boats and were in ardent pursuit. His party' retreat by water was cut off, all of their provisions lost, and they were faced by the fearful certainty that other alarmed bands and troops would at once be out to intercept their path. With characteristic decision Rogers cut the knot of his difficulties, and determined to outmarch his pursuers, destroy the village before help could arrive, and return south by a hasty dash to Ochase Intervales and a voyage down the Connecticut. Accordingly he despatched an officer back through the forest to Crown Point to ask Amherst to send a relief party up the river to meet him, and set out northeast by forced marches. The way for the most part traversed limitless spruce swamps, so wet that his men splashed for hour after hour through a foot of water, and that to snatch a few hours sleep at night they had to lie among the tops of hastily felled trees; but for nine days they hurried on with almost delirious energy. At the end of that time, fording the swift, deep St. Francis river with the greatest peril, they found themselves within a few miles of the town. As dusk fell Rogers watched its darkening streets from a treetop, and later crept to its borders upon his hands and knees, finding the unsuspecting savages deep in celebrating of a marriage with dancing and festing. In the dark hours immediately preceding

dawn the next day his men took the village completely by surprise. With a fury fed by the sight of six hundred scalps festooning the doorways of the houses, they killed the two hundred warriors of the place, drove the women and children into the woods, and burned everything except three granaries of maize. Five white captives were retaken.

Post-haste now he set out for the Connecticut; for having examined several prisoners while his men were loading themselves with such provisions as the smoking ruins afforded, he learned that the two large bodies of French and Indians were laying in wait for him near-by, still uncertain of his movements. The return trip was a sustained nightmare. For eight days he hurried his men up the St. Francis, past its headwaters, and on to Lake Memphremagog. Here their carefully husbanded supply of food was utterly exhausted, and that they might better subsist on the country through which they passed, he separated his men into two small detachments. Within two days some of his force were shot by the pursuing Canadians, while the rest, killing an occasional squirrel or partridge, or living on ground-nuts or lily-roots, toiled on toward the Connecticut. The French still hung upon their rear, slaying and capturing in all fifty men. The members of two of their bands, almost insane from hunger, fell upon the bodies of their comrades and ate them. Those that finally reached the Connecticut, however, were followed no more, and gathering again in a single party, dizzy with weakness, struggled on down its banks to the mouth of the Ammonoosuc. Here they looked confidently for succor and provisions for which Rogers had sent to Number 4; but they were rudely disappointed.

The forest glades were empty, except for a

fresh fire burning, brightly told the signs of a recent camp; their comrades had gone, had waited, and were just gone. " Our distress ", says Rogers, " was grief and consternation, were truly inexpressible after so many days' weary march over steep, rocky mountains, or through wet, dirty swamps & after such expectation that we should find our distresses alleviated - our spirits, depressed by the hunger and fatigues we had suffered, entirely sank within us, for we saw no hope that we should escape a miserable death by famine ". His own indomitable energy alone remained unshaken, and with two of his strongest comrades he made a raft and pushed on, engaging to return help within ten days. The current carried them down with perilous swiftness, and they tried to steady their wretched craft with branched of trees improvised as paddles. When it was finally lost over White River falls, the requisite distance but half covered, they were too weak to construct another, and so burnt trees down and to the proper length. When again they approached the roar of wattock-quitchoy falls, the desperate Rogers went below, and swimming into the rapids, caught the second precious raft as it came over, for they were too far spent to build a third. By great good fortune they next day killed a partridge, and thus strengthened, finally reached the first military post on that long, lonely river, and sent back to their starving friends.

In Amherst's final summer advance upon Montreal from Crown Point Rogers participated, first scouting over the country to glean general information, and later, in an unsuccessful attempt to surprise St. John's, a small fort just above the foot of Lake Champlain, taking the minor post of St. d'Estrose in the same valley. The enemy were carting hay here into the

stockade, and - watching their opportunity - his men dashed from the woodsand followed one of the loads through before the heavy gate could be closed. He was with Haviland, and in command of his full corps of 600, when the evacuation of Isle aux Noix was forced, and having later been sent to subdue the valley of the Sorrel, returned in time to witness the surrender of Montreal, September 8, 1760. His services during those final monthscarried him over several hundred miles of territory, and twice won for him stray words of commendation from Amherst himself. On September 18 the commander-in-chief did him the honor of designating him as the officer who should receive the surrender of all the French posts along the Great Lakes, a task which, while involving no real responsibility, was arduous, and above all distinguished, in that it elevated him to an officer ambassadorial in nature. With two hundred troops he set out on the thirteenth, and despite the obstacles presented by great distances, rough roads, and bad weather, had accomplished his duties by December first receiving a reluctant submission at Detroit and Michilimackinac, visiting Niagara, Fort de Boeuf, Presqu'Isle, Venango, and Pittsburg, apprising the still hostile Indian tribes of the issue of the conflict, and everywhere forcing upon the unwilling French inhabitants the oath of allegiance. A projected expedition from Detroit to Mackinac failed because of stormy winds and the piling up of ice-cakes on Lake Huron. The fertile and varied landscape was a source of never-ending interest to the major; and at one point in his journey, near Presqu'Isle, he met the chief Pontiac - of whom more anon.

On February 14, 1761, Rogers arrived alone at New York, having travelled from Detroit to Pittsburg through the rich, trackless forest of Ohio and eastern Pennsylvania, following the shores of Lake Sandusky and Erie, and descending the Muskingum River, stopping at many Indian villages - Wyandotte, Iriquois, and Delaware - along the way; and proceeding from Pittsburg to Philadelphia by way of the common road. He records that he was greatly fatigued when he reached Manhattan Island, for he had traveled almost continuously since his departure for Montreal the preceeding fall, sometimes covering twenty miles of rough, heavily timbered county, or paddling over a great extent of stormy water, between sunrise and dusk. His duty was done, however, and having reported the fulfillment of his mission at headquarters, he obtained an indeterminate furlough, without either surrendering his commission or losing his liability to active service. He was complimented by the general upon his ability and performances, and received the indirect praise conveyed by instructions to keep ever within call, lest his services as a border commander should be required. The hour was a bright one for the major. He was not yet thirty years old; he had risen against many obstacles of birth and advantage to a position of real command in a distinct and spectacular arm of the service, and had impressed his superiors, not merely American but English, with his trustworthiness and brilliancy in that arm; his name had gone abroad through all the provinces as a dashing, bold, and experienced fighter. He had the consciousness that, as he himself boasted, no one of his rank had "rendered such essential services throughout the war", and that whether continued peace left him to rest upon his laurels, or new

wars offered new opportunities, his reputation was for the time secure. Everywhere he went he was known, stared at, and sought after, for every news agency for five years had rung with his exploits; everywhere he was introduced and referred to as " the famous Major Rogers ".

His first concern upon being placed at liberty from the restrictions of daily duty was to clear up certain troubling financial affairs. The preceding year he had sent a memorial to the General Court of Massachusetts, asking £350 arrears of pay for his own and his company's service during the winter of 17[illegible] - [illegible] at Fort William-Henry, this pay, already a souce of vexatious and expensive law-suits to him, having been heretofor refused on account of some doubt as to whether he was then in the service of the crown, or of Governor Shirley, or Governor Wentworth; and his memorial had been referred to the New Hampshire Assembly for a decision. Immediately, therefor he proceeded to Portsmouth, to urge his claim before the provincial assembly. On June 5 the legislature read his memorial, and on June 8th, the last day, equipped with recommendations from Johnson and Amherst, and his muster-rolls, he was admitted to speak in his favor. When he finished talking it was after noon; the legislators were tired and hungry, and could think of nothing but at that the hour at which they were to be prorogued had struck; and as he had omitted to bring with him his vouchers, the only adequate evidence of his rights, he was called into the chamber and told that no action could then be taken. Not until the beginning of 1763, two years later, when he was again free to appear in person before the house, did he receive a part payment, of two hundred and thirty-five pounds.

Meanwhile during this spring and summer, a more important and more interestingly personal matter was engrossing his attention. When he had returned to his native colony after an absence of six years, he had at once taken steps to renew his acquaintance, under his new advantageous circumstances, with the best families of the province. He was received with especial favor in Portsmouth, where the constant reception of official reports of his deeds during the war had made him a figure of very real prominence; and was undoubtedly given an entree into circles which, in even that democratic town, would before have disdained him. Among the friendships which he performed was one with the family of the Reverend Arthur Browne, the best respected and obeyed clergyman in the capital, then a white haired but still sternly erect and commanding figure of sixty-two, entering upon his twenty-sixth year of service as rector of Queen's Chapel. He was the son of a Scotch veteran of the battle of the Boyne, and growing up in Enegheda and Dublin in Ireland, had received his degree from Trinity College, in the latter city, in 1707. Only a year previously Dean Berkeley had embarked for the Bermudas on his philanthropic project of establishing a circle of protestant missions to convert the savage western world. This half-philosophic, half-evangelical scheme of the great prelate's had instilled a missionary fire into the brain of the young man; and immediately upon his ordination he crossed the seas to take charge of King's Chapel in Providence, Rhode Island, whence he was called in six years to Portsmouth. He was broadly educated, though of a conservative temper, and despite a reputation of decision and and even harshness of mind, especially among his family of nine children, had become one of the most influencial men in the

community. He had published several tracts and sermons, notably one on " The Folly and Perjury of the Rebellion in Scotland " (1746). In his home Rogers met and became enamoured with the youngest daughter, Elizabeth, a beautiful girl of nineteen, and into this domestic circle he determined to push himself. Apart from all reasons of sentiment, he could have taken no step more advantageous. He had no fixed abode, and marriage would give him an opportunity to establish himself permanently at Portsmouth, in a position sensibly enviable, and commanding in such a career of real estate speculation as, in the event of continual peace, he was then looking forward to, distinct commercial privileges.

On the other hand, the honor conferred upon the Browne household by the proposals of the dashing major was an indubitable one. It seems hard to record that although the chief person concerned, Elizabeth herself, was not in entire harmony with the arrangement, plans for the union went on apace. As to her attitude, we have her own words in a statement which the unfortunate progress of events wrung from her many years after, at a time when her life must have seemed to her nearly wrecked by this marriage contracted at so tender an age. " When I entered into matrimony, in June, 1761, with Col. Robt. Rogers", she states, " he was a person of character and distinction; though I married him solely in obedience to the will of my parents and friends ". How real was this pressure - how much was the union against her will, and how much, in the light of her later injuries, she may have forgotten an original predisposition in the bridegroom's favor, - it is impossible to say; but the whole spirit of household government there, and the temper of her father, were such that feeble protestations of her own would not

have availed much. On June 30, 1761, the day on which the bride celebrated her twentieth birthday, she was led to the altar in Queen's Chapel by the tall and soldierly commander, and her own father, in the church over which he presided and where she had worshipped since her childhood, read the service which united them. They returned after the ceremony to the home of the Browne's, for Rogers had as yet made no provision for a separate establishment. The honeymoon was brief. Six days after the wedding, there came to the major, from New York, the summons to a new campaign; and the husband caught up his arms, said a hasty farewell to his new and intimate connections, and was off to a farther frontier than any he had yet served upon.

This frontier was the great undefined borderland between the Carolinas and the lands of the Cherokee Indians. The struggle now going on there was a reverberating echo of the far greater struggle that had just been fought out along the Ohio and the St. Lawrence, - a dying glow of the heat of the conflict that had run from the northeastern tip of the crescent which bounded the American colonies to its southwestern extremity. In the border provinces to the Seven Years War the Cherokees were the natural allies of the English: but early in the conflict the French had begun to tamper with them and estrange them. In this way they were aided by the blundering and bullying policy of the royal governor himself, one Lyttleton, who loaded the Indians with indignities when they should have been treated with diplomatic kindness, and finally marched into their country to force an unwelcome treaty down their throats. Upon his return home and the infuriated nation rushed down upon the innocent and defenseless families of the frontier in such force that a

hurried call was sent northward for help. On April 1, 1760, 1200 men under Colonel Montgomery, despatched by Amherst from the armies set free by the surrender of Quebec and Montreal, reached Charleston; and they, together with several companies of partisan fighters raised by the governor, sufficed to defend the border during the summer. In February, 1761, a few days before Rogers arrived in New York from the West, Lt. Col. James Grant, with whom the ranger had been associated at Fort Edward two years before, received orders to embark for the relief of the province. This expedition of Grant's, memorable as the school in which a half-dozen such revolutionary officers as Moultrie, Dickens, Laurens, and Marion learned their first lessons in war, invaded the Cherokee territory in July. Overwhelming, and a month later, marching up the beautiful valley of the Saluda, the army attacked and completely defeated the savages. A fortnight more of burning and pillaging reduced their farms to desolate wastes, and returning early in August to Fort Prince Henry, he received the now submissive chief of the Cherokees, and submitted him to Charleston to sue for peace.

No letters about them, on August 20, Rogers arrived at the capital of South Carolina, having come boldly overland in a full month's journey through Virginia and North Carolina with Colonel Byrd and a few Indian guides. His advent had been long expected. Certain members of his old corps had been fighting under Grant since early spring, and as early as November of the preceding year he himself had been mentioned as billeted for a command at Fort Loudoun. Three days after his arrival he set out northward, and travelling the one hundred and fifty miles to the border of the Cherokee country, assumed at Fort Prince

George the command of an independent company. His new post was worth £500 a year, and represented a fulfillment of Amherst's promise of a "substantial reward to follow his services". Rogers was too late for the active service of real warfare, but under Grant's orders he was engaged in scouting the country, even to the foot of the rugged, pine grown hills that stretched there great flanks away toward the misty summits of the Blue Ridge, and in helping hold in awe the great extent of plain and valley recently subjugated. In a later account he described the fascination for him of the wide savannahs of grass, alternating with spacious forests of magnolia, tulip, gum, and oak, and breaking, to the west, into the misty mountainous country, where the limitless expanse of upland, embrowning under the August sun, rounded into vast knobs across whose hazy outline distant clouds of birds drifted like a slender wisp of smoke; and, as well, the discomforts of the sultry, thunderous weather, and of the pestiferous clouds of mosquitos. In September he was withdrawn to the post called Ninety-six, for peace once more reigned on the border; and here, halfway between the upper branches of the Catawba and the Savannah, in a country still hilly and full of an ancient roaming Indian life, he lingered until the departure of nearly every other portion of Grant's force in December. Early in spring, while still retaining command of his now idle company, he was empowered by the provincial governor to raise volunteers up-country, for a new regiment demanded for northern service by Amherst. In this he achieved remarkable success, beating up, from the towns north of Charleston, more than one hundred men within two months. He was not interested in more recruiting, however, and chafed to be permitted to return to the north. Finally on

August 1 he comleted his enlistments, sending forty men into Charleston in one day; and on October 9, together with Lieut. Ramsay, Amherst's special enlisting agent, he sailed for New York in the brig " Hannah ". The command of his company he had given up on the first of July, when it was finally disbanded. In his whole employment in the South he had undergone no very exciting experiences, and had been given no opportunity to prove himself more than an efficient garrison officer; but he had greatly enlarged his acquaintance with the American colonies, and with the Indians of the west.

Early in November, after a brief stay in New York, Rogers was received with polite cordiality at his home in Portsmouth, from which he had been absent nearly a year and a half. In January of 1763, as we have noted, he re-presented to the Assembly his claim for deferred pay during 1758, and had it in part allowed; and at the same time domestic difficulties forced him to shape more carefully his business affairs, while he began to resume that interest in New Hampshire and New York lands which his summons to South Carolina had interrupted. Even before beginning his services in the Seven Years' War he had been involved in several minor actions for debt, now as defendant, now as plaintiff, and had signed one bond of £10 to a neighbor at Merrimac named William Alds. Although his present liabilities rendered his financial situation precarious, he now plunged into a series of land litigations with Alds, who claimed a prior right to Rogers' farm at Merrimac, and lost them all, with heavy costs. Another venture was similarly fruitless. A year before, following a proclamation by Governor Colden of New York that the close of the war had opened for settlement the uncleared

country above the Mohawk, Rogers and several fellow officers had petitioned for a grant of 25000 acres on the shores of Lake George, but had been thwated by the protests of the Mohawk Indians, conjoined with a stoppage by the crown of all such grants. Now, ably seconded by his associates, he renewed his claim, but without success. His only prudential business measure was the purchase of a share of the Suncook sawmill. He spent much of his time between Portsmouth and Rumford, and his improvidence and tetendenny toward dissipation, troubled and angered his father- in-law. On December 20, 1762 , by the expedient of loaning him £ 1000, theminister forced him to part with his 500 acres of land at Rumford, with three negro slaves, and " one Indian boy named Lilly, aged thirteen", which Browne at once transferred to a brother to hold in trust for Elizabeth Rogers. During the spring he seems finally to have lost patience with hims In April he made out a bill for the board and lodging of the major and his family, amounting, together with small sums paid his washerwoman, shoemaker, and tailor, to £ 2600; and adding to it the £1000 paid for his farm, and 500 for personal property given him. secured a writ and set a sheriff upon his heels. All his available property - it was but £50 - was attached, and he was forced to give bond for the payement of the remainder of the debt. His wife still remained, in a sense, loyal to him, but he was more and more estranged from her family.

During the worried months that followed his return from the Carolinas Rogers retained his majority and was an intent observer of public affairs, in momentary readiness to resume his active command under Amherst's orders. His consistent hope was to win promotion in the colonial service, and as he found ground for doubting that military affairs would present him many

more opportunities, he temoparily fixed his ambitions upon appointment to a civil post, preferably the command of a western garrison. To this end he craved permission to go to England, as had several of his brother provincials, to urge before the home government the claim his services gave him upon a higher office; Johnson, however, partly because he wished to keep the experienced ranger at hand for frontier service, more largely because a growing distrust of Rogers' character made him feel that it would be dangerous to put the ranger in the way of responsible promotion, steadfastly refused to permit his departure. If the major chafed,it was not for long. On April he began to hear murmers of widespread discontent throughout the savage nations of the west. Toward the end of the month these grew stronger, until news reached him in New Hampshire that the commandant of Detroit, alarmed at the congregation near that post of a great host of the Algonquin races, had sent an appeal for reenforcements to headquarters. The Indians along the Susquehanna were in arms against the encroaching white settlers, and from widely scattered posts along the Ohio and the Great Lakes came rumors of inpending trouble. Fort Miami on March 30 reported the uprising of the Shawnees, and despatches from Detroit reflected the increasing uneasiness of the savages there. The French had had no right, the tribes were complaing, to cede the red man's country to the English; and the irresistible trenching of the sturdy frontier farmer upon their hunting grounds beyond the Alleghanies filled them with resentful dismay. Finally on May 10 Amherst, skeptical and impatient as he was of the attitude of the Indians, announcing that he would summon a meeting of the chiefs to have the terms of the treaty of peace explained to them, and began making

preparations for the employment, if necessary, of harsher measures. A few days earlier Rogers had received an appointment as captain of one of the New York independant companies, in room of a resigned officer, and had started west to Albany.

Events now daily opened before him the new arena of action. As during the month all the border country of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia began to feel the still half-veiled fury of the western confederacy, the widespread nature and serious import of the uprising first began to be understood; though not until June 4, when definite news of the insurrection reached New York from Fort Pitt and Detroit, was it evident that by a concerted plan the whole northwest was expressing its hatred of British aggression. Within ten days Amherst, who believed on June 1 that the whole affair would end in scattering and isolated outbreaks, and that even the minor posts were in no danger, had recognized his error, and determined to raise three full regiments and to equip smaller expeditions of relief. Reenforcements to the number of one nne hundred men set out for Detroit, nearly a month before, with provisions and arms, and more were at once got ready; When on June 16 Captain Dalyell, Amherst's aid, brough news from Albany that the first force had been attacked by night as it rested twenty-four miles from its goal, and driven back toward Niagara with the loss of forty men and all their stores. Preparation for the march of a larger relief party were at once, and with redoubled energy, set on foot, and its command driven to Dalyell. Rogers was now at New York, and received the news of Dalyell's appointment to a command for which he felt himself the obvious candidate with some chagrin. Nevertheless, as he boasted later, He " put himself forward with alacrity under an inferior officer, nominated

to an artificial rank for the occasion, it being matter of indifference to whom the credit of a dangerous enterprise was entrusted, so that he was signalized in a prompt obedience to his country ". He hurriedly gathered together the members of the slender company over which he had just assumed command, and posted northward trough Albany to Lake Erie; his superior collected two hundred men from the 55th. to the 80th. regiments of regulars, just arrived from the siege of Havana, and hastily followed him. At Niagara they halted long enough to secure boats, and to equip them with ammunition, fresh provisions, and small cannon. While they tarried there came the news of the treacherous massacre of the garrison at Venango, of the loss, rumored or assured, of Sandusky, Miami, Mackinac, and Presqu'Isle, and of the redoubling of attacks on Detroit. It was plain that the western woods were all aflame, and that scores of Indian villages and tribes were in arms. At the same time the busied soldiers heard full accounts of the organization of the war by Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, and learned something of the resources and numbers of the Great Indian army under his command, then concentrated about Detroit, against which their little column was to pit its strength.

Rogers' first meeting with Pontiac had been during the course of the memorable journey he had taken in the autumn and winter of 1760 to assume possession of the western forts surrendered by the French. On the fourth of November of that year he had set out westward from Presqu'Isle with seven barges, coasting along the southern shore of Lake Erie. The weater was rough, and an overcast sky and cold drizzling rain were accompanied by a wind which sent the waves breaking high over their boats' prows; the shore-line, level and high-timbered,

showed the once-blazing foliage of the Indian summer hanging dreary and dark in the chilling blast, or whirling in sodden clouds over the wet beach. By the seventh, having skirted the lake for nearly forty miles, they had reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, a considerable stream flowing down placidly through tall, free groves of oak, hickory, and locust, near the site of the present city of Cleveland. Here, putting in for an hour's refreshment, they were hailed by a party of Indians wearing the paint and garb of Ottawas, who represented themselves as ambassadors of Pontiac, and in the name of " the king and lord of the ountry " commanded Rogers to await his presence. In the course of an hour the chief arrived; he advanced " with an air of majesty and pricely grandeur ", and according the respectful major a grave salutuation, demanded of him how he dared enter unannounced Indian country. Rogers quietly informed him of his mission to Detroit, diplomatically adding that the expulsion of the French could not fail to benefit the savages in increased privileges in hunting and trade. In brief rejoinder Pontiac held out a small string of wampum, in token that the rangers must not depart without his leave, and retired to deliberate in council upon the matter. Although the calumet of peace was smoked during the course of evening, Rogers posted double guards, and himself remained awake all night, until at daybreak the conference was continued. Amid puffs at the re-lighted pipe, and in measured syllables, the stern chief declared that he was satisfied with the English officer's statement of his purposes in invading the country; that he wished to live in amity with his new neighbors; that he would warn all the Indian towns along the shore and about the mouth of the Detroit river to offer no obstacle to the British

advance; and that he would supply the company with parched corn and meat, and detail one hundred warriors to help them transport their provisions. Continued rainstorms confined the soldiers to camp for several days, during which time the savages held a very carnival in marketing with their wild turkies and venison. Meanwhile Pontiac had withdrawn. On November 29, when Rogers' lieutenants, in presence of a vastly larger French force, cut loose the white lilies of Bourbons from the flagstaff at Detroit, and raised in their stead the red colors of England, seven hundred Indians, standing by with their chief, raised a mighty cry of wonderment and acclamation. They had been ready but a few days before to fall in annhiliating strength upon the English, but had been restrained by Pontiac. During Rogers' stay at Detroit he often saw the proud chieftain, who dwelt with his squwas and retainers on Péche Isle, anhigh,wooded islet near by in Lake St. Clair, and - always with strong difer nce to his intense personal pride and erotism - engaging him in repeated interviews. He learned much concerning the western country, and the empire which even then the lake Indians had formed, and discovered in him " great strength of judgment, great thirst after knowledge, and great jealousy of his own respect and honor ". The chief offered the major a part of his kingdom if he would take him over seas to England, and initiate him into British military, social, and commercial affairs; but at the same time made it clear that he would expect to be treated abroad with the courtesy due an independent and equal potentate. He was decisive in his assertions that the country of the western tribes was not to be bartered about among European nations as a piece of conquered territory.

Now Rogers was grinding a party over this

same route, but in arms against the chief, and amid widespread signs of his hostile power. On the seventh of July, in calm bright weater, the force set out, and soon leaving the thunder and mist of the falls far behind. were by nightfall well out along the full expanse of the lake. They numbered nearly two hundred, in part veterans who had fought battles under the British flag in many climes, in part experienced provincial scouts; Rogers had direct command of the twenty men most experienced in wood service, and guided the expedition as it proceeded. Although Dalyell, who had served continuously in America since 1756, was of indubitable bravery and experience, there seems early to have been some jealous friction between them. Through successive days of oppressive heat they coasted the south shore, moving as fast as they might; the lake was calm, the heavy green tops of the fringing woods hung languidly motionless in the full effulgence of the sun, and the sky met the water at the horizon like an inverted mirror. They finally reached the charred, wrecked ruins of the fort at Presqu'Isle, the ground about it furrowed and littered with the works thrown up by the attacking savages; and a few days later Sandusky, where dusky trenches, converging upon a mound of ashes, and some half-burned timbers, told the same story of violence. At this point they landed to wreak vengeance upon a neighboring village of the Wyandottes, and after ravaging their cornfields, pushed on again by water for the mouth of the Detroit river. When they arrived here on the evening of July 28 all was still, for the savage host, lying only a few miles above, had not even a scout out to sound the alarm. Under cover of night, paddling as rapidly as possible, they ascended the stream, and finally making a dash for the beleagured fort in the misty ddwn, gained the protection of its

guns at sunrise. As they entered, the Indian besiegers broke the silence of a fornight with a hot fusillade, and inflicted some loss upon the hindmost boats; but nothing could stop the cheers of the garrison, worn as they were with constant watching, and as the soldiery disembarked, the streets of the French village rang with their rejoicing. The barracks could not accomodate the new arrivals, and they were quartered in the homes of the habitants.

The Indian army under Pontiac, then numbering more than two thoudand warriors, had but recently withdrawn its maincamp to a river marsh two miles above the post, whence it kept the town and fort constantly surrounded, Dalyell feared its withdrawal, and proposed an immediate attack, which was actually set on foot soon after midnight the second day after his coming. By some it is said that a dispute between the provincials and the English regulars as to their relative fighting effectiveness was the mainspring behind the ill-timed advance. The commander's plans were betrayed to the Indians by the French about the post, and when in the heavy gloom just before the dawn of July 31 his little corps moved out from town along a road parallel to the river, and into the pitchy forest beyond, he was attacked in force. The battle which followed is known as Bloody Run, for it surged and varied along the shores of a little stream which for hours ran crimson, stumbling along the darkness of the village road, with its flank protected by two cannon-bearing bateaux on the river opposite, was on the point of crossing this creek when it was met in the face by the fire of the intrenched savages, forced back in confusion, reattacked on the open side, and finally, as it still rallied stubbornly, pushed back among the first scattering houses of the town. Half of the officers were killed in the first moments of the

combat, and despite the heroic efforts of the rear guard to keep open the communications with the fort in the rear, the full body occupied several hours in its fighting retreat, which the Indians endeavored repeatedly to cut off. After their first fire the savages scattered, and from behind trees, wood piles, barns, and outbuildings poured a galling fusilade into the ranks of the troops, still bewildered in the slowly-dissipating darkness.

Rogers and his men early occupied a house beside the highway, first expelling a troop of Indians, and from it covered their comrades retreat, until in a few moments they were themselves completely isolated. An eyewitness gave Parkman many years later an account of the fighting from this building. " The major entered with some of his own men, while many panic-stricken regulars broke in after him, in their anxiety to gain a temporary shelter. The house was a large and strong one, and the women of the neighborhood had crowded into the cellar for refuge. While some of the soldiers looked in blind terror for a place of concealment, others seized upon a keg of wiskey in one of the rooms, and quaffed the liquor with eager thirst, while others piled packs of furs, furniture, anything in reach, against the windows as a barricade. Panting and breathless, their faces moist with sweat and blackened with gunpowder, they thrust their muskets through the openings, and fired out upon the whooping assailants. At intervals a bullet sharply whizzed through a crevice, skirting down a man, or rapping harmlessly against the partitions. The gray-haird master of the house, old Campan, stood on a trap door to prevent the frightened soldiers seeking shelter among the women in the cellar. The screams of the half-stifled women below, the quavering war-whoops without, the shouts and curses of

the soldiers, the groans of the wounded, mingled in a scene of clamorous confusion ". From their perilous position position here Rogers and his men were saved by the hasty movement of the bateaux, which were rowed down to a position where the swivel canon swept the woods and gardens about, and drove the savages away from their path in disorder. Not a moment too soon the rangers fell upon the retreating main body, for as they parted by one door the foremost Indians leaped in at another.

At eight o'clock the troops, exhausted, crest-fallen, and discouraged, reentered the palisades they had so lately quitted. The night's sally had cost them dear, for they had lost their commander and sixty men. Dalyell had been killed in an act of impulsive bravery, running back to save a comrade, and a Captain Grant had taken his place in the chief command. The Indians were greatly elated; their yells of triumph filled the woods, and swift runners were at once sent out to bear the joyful news far and wide. Nevertheless the English kept up a good heart. They had succeeded in inflicting some small injury upon the enemy, and they knew that their position, since the reenforcement of the garrison was entirely safe.

For some months the siege dragged wearily and uneventfully on. When. on August 13, a schooner and sloop were sent to Niagara for troops and supplies, Rogers took opportunity to transmit to Johnson a partial journal of the siege, extending from its beginning until July 4, material for which he had obtained from the officers of the fort; and in October he inquired whether he would be relieved from garrison duty during the fall, and requested that his wife be given the same information. On the twelfth of this month one of the chiefs represented to Major

Gladwin that the young braves were chafing to begin the winter hunts, and arranged a truce which permitted the soldiers to lay in a further store of provisions; none too soon, for they were subsisting on five pounds of flour and one half-gallon of wheat each week. At about the same time Pontiac wrote that his Indian flowers had buried the hatchet, and " all the bad things had passed should be forgotten on both sides "; a a few days later the smoke ceased to rise from their whilom encampment. Taking their women and children, the savages had departed southward. Peace had not been made, and the war - which, indeed, did not end for nearly a year - was only broken; but Detroit had little to fear until spring.

In November Gladwin determined to reduce his garrison for the winter, and sent all but two hundred men east to Niagara, where they arrived on the 27 th. Rogers, accompanied by two Mohawk Indians, followed a few days later. It was doubtless a relief to return to the security of the east. Even since the departure of the Indians the days had passed monotonously at Detroit, for it was unsafe to wander far from the fort, or to pursue stray game into the woods; the treachury of the nearby French was constantly feared; the men, in a garrison so small, had to perform irksomely constant garrison duty; and then rations were limited in variety, as well as in quantity. For some time, apparently, the major lingered near Niagara, partly on military duty, partly engaged in affairs of his own, - affairs, too, of no very creditable nature - before returning home. He was apparently concerned in the trade with the friendly tribes of the Mohawks and Delawares in the region, and was using his uniform, his commission, and his reputation in furthering his business ventures;

while at the same time he was none too honest in his various dealings with associates in the Indian trade, and permitted one such trader, William McCracken, to forfeit a bond in his name. In the last years of the French war, and in the periods since when he was not engaged in the Carolina campaigns, he had been suspected of an unethical participation in the very traffic with the border tribes which it was his military duty to help regulate; and his open concern with it now brought him under the direct displeasure of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Early in January, 1764, he surrendered his commission, and posted to New York; and on the twenty-second of that month, according to a rather cryptic letter of the period, he escaped to " precious " Connecticut by sea. The exact nature and extent of his derelictions in Indian commerce is not known, but it had suffered to make for him powerful enemies.

On February 24 Rogers was again at Rumford, looking after the farm which he had given over a year before to his father-in-law, and was now held in his wife's name. He dined on this date with the Rev. Mr. Walker, and seems to have been herabouts on brief errands of business repeatedly through the summer. Most of the year, however, he spent near or in Portsmouth, engrossed in his dealings in land. A number of the score or more of conveyances, to which between his marriage and 1765, he was a party, are dated during these months, and in all of them he signs himself " as of Portsmouth " or " now residing in Portsmouth ". His absences from his wife's home, however, were frequent and le lengthy, and she complains repeatedly that he scarcely succeeded, in all, in spending more than a few days with her. Nothing, indeed, is more significant of Rogers' real character than his

consistent attitude toward the woman whom, as she herself reminded him, he was"bound by the tenderest. most sacred ties to protect, succor, and comfort ", - his habitual neglect of her, the calm indifference with which he forgot for months at a time his entire connection with her; his failure to make any real provision for her separate maintenance. Whatever may have been his object in marrying, it was plainly not to found a home. The excuse which his military services gave him for this chilliness was one far from valid now, when - no matter what his ambitions - his only immediate abstraction was with his real-estate ventures. And although he was now associated much with his brother, James Rogers, who had secured the grant of a tract of nearly twenty thousand acres lying east of Lake Champlain, in Vermont, he was seldom far from the capital; indeed, his most important project, culminating in July 4 in the securing of three thousand acres at Readsboro, Vermont, was consumated without leaving the city, for it was given him by the state in his capacity as a half-pay officer. His prosperity he was compelled to mortgage to one Cysbert Fonds of Albany for £5600, while his wife's land he also placed under an encumberance of £350. He was evidently deep in debt.

In early March, 1765, Rogers - giving out that he was off for the West Indies - departed for England, upon the trip which in his own worldly interests he had so long mediated. His knowledge of the pronounced disapproval with which, in all capacities except the rather narrow one of Indian fighter, Johnson and his American associates viewed him, made it seem imperative that he seek his coveted promotion on the other side of the water, Col. Gladwin, with whom he had been associated at

Detroit, was gone in October, tired of the American sevice, yet certain that he had fulfilled his duty; he was presented to the sovereign, and complimented upon his achievements. Some such compliments Rogers hoped to receive, while he desired above all to secure an administrative appointment in the king's employ, whether in Europe, India, or America. For some time past he had seen junior officers elevated above him merely because they had found time to present themselves at London, and opportunity to secure the influence of court friends. One Gorham, for example, a mere captain of rangers who had served for two years under his command, was now established as a lieutenant colonel over his head. He was moreover anxious to see the land of his fathers ; anxious to leave the complaints of his wife, and the importunities of his creditors; anxious to investigate the glamor of metropolitan existence; and anxious to publish, two books upon which he had mediated during his leisure moments. In the English book marts of the hour there was a ready demand for military accounts of the glorious struggle just closed, and for geographical descriptions of the vast realms just added to the crown.

His chief activities in London, therefore, were political and literary. His exploits had well advertised him, and his advent aatracted general notice. Old military friends crowded about him, and with the recommendation to various gentlemen of prominence which he had brought with him, he shortly became known among the lesser notables of the season. In the magazines of the time we find frequent mention of his career and his person, and upon the streets his tall, sturdy figure, carried with an easy boldness of demeanor, was frequently pointed out. He resorted to the parties and clubs at which officers, retired and active, were

found, and won speedily a deserved rputation for joviality and good fellowship. Tradition has long perpetuated stories of how, when accosted one lonely night by a highwayman on Hounslow Heath, he peremptorily knocked him down and dragged him away to justice; of how he appeared, on a wager, at a fashionable ball in the uncouth garb of a backwoods hunter; of how once, deep in his glasses with a merry company, he bet he could tell the greatest lie, and relating the strange but true story of his father' death, was vociferously awarded the palm. Indeed, he laid at this time the real foundation for a very considerable and lasting popularity in London, and one which endured through all the subsequent compromising vicissitudes which ,ater brought him an exiled petitioner to the capital. Of his picturesque appearance at the time, and some of the grounds upon which his reputation was based, we may judge from a crudely designed and colored print-portrait of him which ten years later was exposed for sale in all the shop-windows, with the legend beneath, " Major Rogers, the famous Rogers ". It was reproduced in Germany, and copies of it are even yet preserved. They show us a tall, heavy man, smooth-shaven, and with a countenance pleasantly open and regular, but coarsely delieated. He is in full uniform, with long hair partially hidden by a regulation cockade; a heavy rifle is thrown over the hollow of his arm; a powder-horn is suspended from his shoulder by a band of Indian workmanship; an embroidered belt, fastened by a heavy silver buckle, encircles his waist; his nether limbs are encaissed in leggings, and a sword hangs by his side. This military and energetic bearing, however, heightened as it is by the relief with which his sinewy figure is outlined against a gloomy forest background, from whose shades indistinctly start two naked savages,

is not borne out by his expression or features. The jaw is heavy, the lips full and sensuous, the large nose and prominent eyes almost cold and phlegmatic in aspect; the glance and the set of the features, while direct enough, still seem calculating and evasive. While the face is clearly that of a man of action, largely wanting in lines of thought, it is far from being indicative of the rugged, nervous energy with which we associate Rogers' name.

To further his designs for an American appointment Rogers soon set about the preparation and publication of his "Journals", or the diary he had kept of his movements during the Seven Years War, and of another book which he called " A Concise Account of North America ". These appeared simultaneously in October, 1765, from the press of John Mellan, a Whitehall stationer of some prominence, in small octavo dress, and sold for four and five shillings respectively. Both men at once favorably reviewed by the critical magazines, who took apparent pleasure in introducing the military hero in his literary capacity. " Few of our readers ", said the Monthly Review, are unacquainted with the name, or ignorant of the exploits of Major Rogers who with so much reputation headed the provincial corps called Rangers during the whole course of our late successful wars in America, - a brave, active, judicious officer. To him we are obliged, in the " Concise Account ", for the most satisfactory description we have yet been favored with of the interior parts of the immense continent which victory has so lately added to the British Empire ". Of the Journals it said that the author, " who has given undoubted proofs of his bravery and skill ", wrote " like an honest, a sensible, and a modest man ", and that his work was " authentic, important, and necessary to a thorough understanding of the late military

operations in North America ". The other periodicals similarly joined praise of his military and his literary achievements in the same articles. " The fatigues Major Rogers has undergone in the course of his duty ", writes the reviewer for the Critical Review, " would seem almost incredible were they not confirmed by the unquestionable relations of others ". It was more guarded of its estimate of his merits as an author, but praised " the prepssessing openness with which he writes ", and spoke of portions of his work as " valuable ", and others parts as " new and curious ".

In truth, the two books, while in no wise remarkable from a literary view point, were interesting and timely contributions to the British knowledge of current affairs. The journals followed his eventful field career, day by day, month by month, from the moment when as an opstinate captain he arrived with his company of rangers at Crown Point till that in which, a commander of proved ability and renown, he received the swords of the utermost forts of the French. They display no sense of historical proportion, for several insignificant scouts receive as much space as the operations of Abercombie or Amherst against Montcalm; and they are written, as one of his critics noted, in a"dry unambitious"style. They are honest and accurate in tone, however, and while intimately personal in their viewpoint, seldom if ever gave evidence of prejudice or jealousy in their outlook upon the affairs of fellow and superior officers. Their chief value lies in the facts which, despite Rogers' monotonous lack of emphasis, we may gleam from his pages concerning the defeat of Abercombie, the victories of Amherst and Haviland below Montreal, and the accout of his own journey upon the Great Lakes; their chief interest lies in the thrilling narrative of one or

two of his most brilliant skirmishes, the unconscious color that creeps between the lines which describe his various scouts, and the bitterly vivid recital of his dangers and hardships on the St. Francis raid. The prose style is tortured and poverty stricken, and the ill-calculated space given at times to trivial letters and orders seems to betray a hasty composition.

The "Concise Account", which bears indisputable evidence of more careful literary workmanship, is a manual of information regarding the colonies of North America, their natural advantages, and the location and character of the colonial settlements and outposts. Large portions of it, especially the historical sketches of the provinces, are mere compilations from previous publications, but all the regions from Nova Scotia to the Carolinas, from New York to Detroit, which Rogers had traversed in person, are described in full, and especially upon distinctly frontier phases of existence - with acute observation. A too-pervading seriousness unfortunately restrains the writer from ever falling into a genuinely racy, fresh vein. An appendix contains a popularly exaggerated description of various wild animals, and a considerable treatment of the manners, customs, and character of the Indians - the latter the cream of the book. A real sympathy and understanding is brought by Rogers to this exposition of savage life . He recognizes the errors and weaknesses of the race, but he does ample honor to their virtues. In their domestic institutions he finds much that is admirable : their rigid if somewhat oblique ethics; the respect in which the aged are held; the fine appreciation of personal dignity which restrains the parent from chastising his child; the universal equanimity of mind over every passion (except revenge), " surpassing all

but the most Christian philosophers "; their respectful unselfishness toward friends and allies. What is far more distinctive in a rough, active frontiersman, Rogers expresses an almost town-bred admiration of the simple gentleness of their untutored minds, and the pastoral beauty and happiness of their roving life. In this respect he spkoe most especially of the Illinois and Missouri, whose land he regarded as " the most salubrious and fertile in the world ". " These people of any upon earth ", he wrote, " seem blessed in this world: here is health and joy, peace and plenty; care and anxiety, ambition and the love of gold, and every uneasy passion, seem banished from this happy region". " The goodness of the country they inhabit renders their life enchantingly agreable and easy ". And he presages with an apparent lingering of regret that the day will come when the region must be occupied by a people whose studied refinement in " dress, equipage, and the modes of life " will shatter this existence of halagom content; for he justly observed that the indians' insatiable fondness for spinctuous liquors would clear the continent of them in a century.

In short, Rogers' attitude toward the untutored savage bespeaks a liberality of mind and a romantic largeness of temper almost anomalous in one whose earliest lesson was to fear and hate the redskin, and whose fame depended upon the success with which he had waged his campaigns against them and their Canadian leaders. Their largeness of viewpoint finds,too, another expression in an attitude which can best be termed imperial patriotism. He regards the new domains as amongst the most fruitful and desirable upon earth, and rejoices everywhere that they have been given to the English race to be subdued and cultivated. Again and again he repeats, in effect, the declaration which follows his

" Journals' " account of the surrender of Montreal, - that the wealth of the Incas and Aztecs was as nothing to that of the northern continent, and that the Anglo-Saxon peoples could not fail to find in it a home of wonderful scope and resource. The style of the second book, moreover, is solid and clear, and it amasses an amount of information, drawn from observation and research, that is far from contemptible. In all, there is no point at which we are more likely surprised into an admiration of the ranger than in the reading of his two treatises. They not merely exhibit his singular success in self-education, but for one of his education and profession reflect every credit upon his natural powers and abilities. The enlargement of spirit they mirror goes far toward belying his lack of true manliness and depth of character. In affairs not purely personal, - in matters pertaining to his larger activities and ambitions - then emanates from him a sterling vigor and alertness of faculty.

Rogers himself had no illusions as to the main defects of his work; in the preface to his Journals he he attempts to disarm the critics by his statement that the work was written " not with silence and leisure, but among deserts, rocks, and mountains, amidst the hurries, disorders, and noise of war, and under that depression of spirits which is the natural consequence of exhausting fatigue ", while in that to his " Concise Account " he asserts that it is not his ambition to shine as a learned historian, but merely to relate " such simple facts as may be useful to his country " until he might " resign his plume to someone with greater life and ornament ". It was generally understood that both books were to be continued, and in the " Concise Account " appeared an advertisement of a third

volume, to contain a history of the Cherokee war and the siege of Detroit, with many maps and plans. This addition Rogers planned to sell at one guinea by subscription, however, and the demand was so slender that he abandoned the project. A seemingly trivial circumstance determined the nature of his third and last publication. That part of the " Concise Account " which had most struck the fancy of several reviewers was the description, among the pages devoted to the Indians, of the chief Pontiac, widely famed even in England for his recent rebellion. Rogers had drawn him with a sturdy vivid dignity which fired the imagination of the writer for the Critical Review, and at the close of his paragraph the latter made a suggestion upon which the Major at once acted. " The picture exhibited of the Emperor Pontiac ", he said, " is novel and interesting, and would appear to vast advantage in the hands of a great dramatic genius ".

In February, 1766, four months later, and some weeks after Rogers had returned homeward from England, the tragedy Pontiac appeared from the press of John Millan, under a timid anonymity, but with the universal knowledge that Rogers was the author. Like the other volumes, it was published in small octavo, and sold for two shillings sixpence. It closed disastrously Rogers' brief career as an author, for the press united in its condemnation. " One of the most absurd productions we have ever seen ", was the verdict of the Monthly Review. " It is a great pity that so brave and judicious an officer should thus run the hazard of exposing himself to ridicule by an unsuccessful attempt to enlivene the poet's bays with the soldier's laurels. In turning bard and writing a tragedy Rogers makes just as good a figure as would a grub-street rhymster at the head of our

authors' corps of North American rangers ". Even the Critical Review, which had suggested the topic, admitted it could bestow no encomiumsupon Rogers as a poet, and pronounced the drama unprecedentedly insipid and flat. The Gentleman's Magazine alone gave the play more than a few lines, and it did so only to point out the flimsiness of its plot and the " disgusting familiarity " of its language. But if the criticism was unjustly harch, Rogers was beyond its reach.

Rogers was followed at this time by an agent or secretary, named Nathaniel Potter, - an educated and rather clever, but disreputable Englishman whom he had engaged in New Hampshire before sailing for England, and who had presumably accompanied him. He said of himself later that since meeting Rogers in early 1765 he " had continued to be much connected with him and used by him in various ways ", while Johnson stated in 1767 thathe had been hired because Rogers was so illiterate as to require someone to do business for him. If he were actually with the major at this time, he may be partially deserving of credit for the " Concise Account " and"Pontoach", which a greater literary facility than do the " Journals " or Rogers ' ordinary letters and reports ; although the content of both is by internal evidence largely Rogers. He may also have assisted the the ranger in one of his most original steps toward political preferment - the proposal of August 1?, 1765, for a search after the Northwest Passage. In the memorial embodying this proposal, as presented to the King, Rogers set forth his unusual qualifications for the quest - knowledge of the country, capacity for making discoveries, strength of constitution, and talent for conciliating the Indians - , and his certainty that there was such a passage,

gained Drom " his assiduous prosecution of every possible inquiry " and his employment at private expense of Indians to explore the distant rivers to the Pacific and Arctic. He prayed to be given two hundred men, with whom he would proceed across the headwaters of the Mississippi, and down the Oregon to Puget Sound, thence following northward the western shore of the continent; the expedition would consume in all £28762 and three years time . Although in a pathetic note he represented himself ruined by expensive lawsuits, his petition was heartlessly refused by the Privy Council.

In obtaining an appointment, however, Rogers was more successful. He bore a letter of introduction to the Lord Mayor, and by Amherst and others was well recommended to Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies; while in October, 1765, one of the intimate friends he had made, William Fitzherbert, was installed a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. On the twelfth of that month he received his coveted post. One of the November reviews of his " Journals " congratulated him warmly upon his advancement and all the colonial gazettes at once bruited the news throughout America. In December he sailed for home; and on January 10 it was made known that by royal direction General Gage at New York had appointed him commander of the troops at Mackinac (Michilimackinac), almost the western-most, and one of the most important, of the British garrisons.

In America Johnson and his associates hailed the news of Rogers' appointment with indignant apprehension. None of his superiors in the colonies considered him even remotely fitted for a position of executive trust, and there was a general certainty that with his incapacity for governmental affairs was allied a want of principle and character that might make him actively dangerous. The same officers that in 1755 had been loath to believe the charges of rascality brought against him as a counterfeiter and enlisting officer were now the first to express their amazement at his new promotion. Gage wrote to Johnson characterising him as morally untrustworthy, and the latter replied in the most emphatic terms. " It was I ", he said, " who for his readiness first made him an officer, and had him continued in the service, where he soon became puffed up with pride and folly, from the extravagant encomiums and notices of the provinces. This spoiled a good Ranger, for he was fit for nothing else; neither has nature calculated him for a large command in that service. He has neither understanding nor principles, as I could sufficiently show. The character you have given him is just, and I am astonished that the government should have thought of such an employment for him ". Other letters of the sturdy Indian Commissioner expressed the same disgust. The concurrence of the general public in his opinion, moreover, proves that it was no mere rankling prejudice, nor the effects of his enmity for Amherst and the other men to whom Roberts probably owed his appointment. Indeed, in a letter of a slightly subsequent date Johnson alludes to the universal disapproval of Rogers, and expresses a charitable wish that,

extricating himself from his debts, he may belie his reputation. He does not appear to be much esteemed, and it gives me pain to find a useful, active man struggling under the disadvantage of distress and a bad name; for he would have done much better if he had not been exalted too much by the people here, who now appear foremost in debasing him. I hope he will act a proper part at Mackinac, prove of service to the public, extricate himself from his difficulties, and deserve a better character than the public has for some time bestowed upon him. I wish the government had found a better or more adapted employment for him". but he makes it clear elsewhere that to him this was a highly unprobable consummation.

Johnson, indeed, was at this moment particularly jealous of the western administration, and wished no officers at the frontier posts upon whose integrity and ability he could not rely. During the whole preceding summer he had been engaged in making peace with the still-inflamed nations under Pontiac, and had sent a command under Colonel George Croghan into the Illinois country to treat with them; and now he was busied with large plans for the preservation and development of the trade with the distant tribes. The French west of the Mississippi he believed to be creating among the Indians of the northwest an active opposition to the English occupation, and to English commerce. " Those of the Illinois", he wrote , " are continually among the savages with immense cargoes of goods, instilling the most pernicious sentiments into the minds of a credulous people, and diverting the trade from its proper channels ". Croghan had persuaded the peoples along the Illinois, the Wabash, the Chicago, the St. Joseph, and the Saginaw and La Baye to petition for a

large extension of British commercial facilities toward their villages, and Johnson was ernestly trying to persuede the Board of Trade of the urgent necessity, for both political and economical reasons, of granting this extension, "it is not in the power of any officer to permit traders to go from Detroit or Mackinac ", he wrote, " and the Indians will be supplied this year chiefly from the Illinois, which is all French property. If trading posts are not established at proper places in that country, soom the French will carry the best part of the trade over the Mississippi, on whose left bank they are building a strong fort ". He had for some time been pushing a plan whose main provision was for the establishment, at each western military post, of a commissary of Indian affairs, as responsible to him for the conduct of the trade and the maintenance of amicable relations with the savages as the commandant was to Gage in military matters. In particular, now, he was urging the establishment of such commissaries at Detroit, Mackinac, and Fort Chartres on the Mississipi, the three stations which dominated the western country. That these local superintendents should do their work well it was essential that the regular governors at their respective forts should willingly and honestly cooperate with them. The plan, moreover, was not yet a certainty, and until it was put in operation the governors would administer Indian affairs, still delicate and sensitive as they were. When, therefore, Rogers, - widely known for his unscrupulousness, and already covertly defraut of Johnson - was given the chief authority at Mackinac, the latter had reason to be sincerely alarmed.

Rogers appeared before the northern superintendent at Johnson Hall early in February, sending his

"Journals " on in advance " for perusal "; and it was clear that he would soon be at his post. At once Johnson arrived at a determination that he must be so hampered in his new office by restrictions, so bound by instructions, and so watched by his superiors, that all the gates to possible wrong doing would be barred, and no latitude left him to conflict more than passively with the plans of the Indian department of of Gage. " I am of opinion ", he said in a letter to the general, " that he should be tied up in such a manner as shall best prevent him doing mischief, and I wish I could well point out how it could best be effected. I apprehend it will chiefly depend on the words of his commission. If he is bound by my orders in everything relating to Indian affairs, and obliged to transmit regular reports of all transactions, I think he will not have it in his power to do as much harm as otherwise; though to prevent him from doing any is impossible, for he has been concerned in trade, and will again be, with those of his connections in that quarter. By his being commandant he will have it in his power to confine the trade in great measure to himself and friends; neither would he stick at saying anything to the Indians, to effect any of his purposes. If, after all, nothing else can be thought on, I shall, on your being pleased to signify to me the power contained in his commission, lay before you such articles as may in some measure tie up his hands. Meantime, the only thing to be done is to point out from whom he is to take his orders respecting Indian affairs, and the channels through which his reports are to be transmitted; and to limit his expenses to pipes, tobacco, and a little liquor - unless when he may be ordered to meet any body of Indians; and whenever they shall address him to send a

faithful copy of his speeches". His recommendations were followed. It was clearly Johnson's haunting fear that the pressure of Rogers' obligations would force him to take criminal means to supply his wants, and it was to this end that the suggested instructions of which there was no lack, harped upon a frank and open administration of Indian affairs, the chief theme of which was to be rigid economy. The terms of the appointment by Gage included these words " I can't recommend to you too strongly the strictest economy in the small expenses that may unavoidably be incurred at your post. Nothing new or chargeable must on any account be done by you upon your own head ". Rogers was further informed that in all his dealings with the savages he must pay the strictest obedience to Johnson, and report to him, as well as to the commandant at Detroit, frequently. In June, again, supplementing instructions were issued to him from Johnson Hall, cautioning him to acquaint himself with the Indians, to avoid giving them any umbrage, and to see that his garrison and the traders committed no offense; and, above all, to send in exact copies of all his proceeding to headquarters, under affidavit, every six months. Finally, Johnson took opportunity to hold a long and earnest conference with him, giving him minutely detailed instructions as to his conduct toward the Indians, while Gage did as much for military affairs; and both, " finding him very very desirous of dome liberty in the article of expenses ", cautioned him thoroughly again to avoid useless expenditures.

Throughout the spring of 1766 Johnson was still pushing his new plan regarding Indian affairs; and finally, by a bold step, he determined upon its inauguration. He knew that in this he was as yet supported by scant authority from England;

but Gage approved and abetted his conduct, and to him the temper of the Indians and the ominous movements of the French and Spanish on the Mississippi made the step seem imperative. The French habitants on the Missouri, Mississippi, Illinois, and Miami, he pointed out monopolized most of the trade in those parts; for despite the fact that they could procure goods only at great expense, the simple children of the forest would go long journeys in order to barter their furs for powder, tobacco, and cloth with those who could treat with them kindly, courteously, and fairly, and not as a debased, inferior people. While he acknowledged that he could never persuade the English to offer the savages more than a polite civility, he was far from despairing of weakening the French influence through his commissaries. These men were to ingratiate themselves into the favor of the tribes, by presents and cajolery; were to supervise the various traders who made the posts their headquarters, and - putting a stop to their dishonesty and cruelty - to force them to pay fair prices, to be considerate and gentle, and to stop the pernicious traffic in rum; and were to nip all plots or discontents in the bud, and counteract directly all foreign influences. " I have for some time ", Johnson wrote to London in January, 1766 " made choice of the best persons for these offices at all the posts, and no time may be lost after I receive orders to appoint them ", and meanwhile he had called Pontiac and all the chiefs of the West to a conference at Oswego, to announce his new plan. Finally, on March 22, he wrote the Board of Tade that he was on the eve of making the necessary proposed appointments, although he was not yet for some weeks to announce them. " I hope your lordship will not disapprove of my conduct ", he added, and suggested that they might infer its

urgency from the fact that the appointments would be made at risk of his private fortune. His mails from that day onward were choked with applications. The vast significance of his move was clear. It meant that henceforth the governance of the west and north was not to be purely military, but half-military and half-civil, and that he and Gage would divide its authority. For almost a year murmurs of subordinate jealousy from western military officers had greeted the proposal and now the moment for real friction was at hand.

For a short period during the spring Rogers was at home at Portsmouth; and here his wife, not yet fully estranged from him, decided to accompany him to his distant command. The unhappy woman was urged by many friends, in sincere remonstrance, to refrain from a step which, no less from character of the major than from the location of the post, was full of uncertainty and danger. Her father, however, animated by his stern churchman's sense of duty, exhorted her to perform the full tenor of her vows, and she herself " felt some hope yet of winning her husband by gentleneds and condescension "

Accompanied by her, therefore, Rogers set out in June, under orders from Johnson to proceed to Oswego, and take charge there of the preparations for the now immediate congress of the western Indians. Here, at the little fort and village planted at the mouth of Oswego River, were gathering the chiefs of the Pottawattomy, Huron, and Chippewa, and the principal men of the Ottawa, all anxiously awaiting the coming of Pontiac, their leader and most accomplished diplomatist, who since the failure of his conspiracy had been a wanderer in the Illinois country.

On the English side the chief representatives

were to be, besides Johnson and Rogers, Daniel Claus, head of Indian affairs in the province of Quebec, Edward Dole, newly-appointed commissary at desChartres, John Ray, holding the same office at Detroit, and Lieutenant Benjamin Roberts, one of Johnson's most trusted aids, and commissary at Oswego since the preceding April. None of these men, except of course Roberts, were as yet on the spot. All was in tension at the little fort, the coming conference, at which Pontiac was expected to give in his adhesion to British rule, was of undeniable importance.

With marked officiousness the major seized the reins of affairs into his own hands. In his military capacity he felt a natural jealousy of commissary Roberts, in no way diminished by the prevalent report that that faithful tool of Johnson 's was likely soon to be set out to Mackinac, there to take over a share of Rogers' responsibility. He treated him with especial brusqueness, and soon found opportunity to quarrel openly with him. Roberts was an experienced English officer, still young, who after some general service at the commencement of the Seven Years' War had joined Rogers' Corps in 1757, where he was employed for a full year, and participated in many of the most fatiguing scouts. He had been recommended to Johnson by his zealy in ingratitating himself with the Indians. He early learned the Mohawk language, and through this, and a very curious incident, the savages of New York took a violent fancy to him. While at garrison in 1759 at Schoectady the gentlemen and ladies acted " Othello ", and the audience room was crowded with chiefs and braves who came to see it. When the gallantly attired Roberts strutted upon the stage at Lodovico, saluted by a fanfare of trumpets, the Indians were vastly struck by his hat and feathers, and concluded he was a

personage of exalted importance. He confirmed their awed admiration by giving them his hat and his cloak, for which, as indicative of his condescension and generosity, they could not be sufficiently grateful. In the last years of the war he served at Ft. Stanwix, before Niagara again. Everywhere and always he flattered the Indians, mastered their tongue, and acquainted himself with their customs and temper. He even reconciled himself to taking an influential Indian wife, an old squaw of whom he spoke as one of the most frightful of human beings. In 1766, when his regiment was ordered back to England, Johnson stopped him to engage him in " settling disputes between the Western Indians and the Six Nations, and to help regulate the Indian trade ". He knew Rogers well, and was well known to him. He was an intimate and favorite of Johnson's: a faithful, sincere officer and an ardent partisan of those with whom his interest was enlisted. His zeal in military and tribal matters had involved him heavily in debt, from which, however, he was unwilling to extricate himself by unprincipled means. With all his fine moral temper and efficient conscientiousness there seems to have been in him a heavy streak of impulsiveness and emotionalism. A rude, frank, impatient, dangerous man like Rogers was sure to clash with him, and at once did so. While Roberts was insisting upon an exact and minute performance of all that looked to the readiness of the post for the conference, Rogers pursued his own headless but effective measures, overriding those about him. " He considered himself ", remarked another officer, " bound by no instructions that did not conform to his own interest " final sharp dispute with Roberts related to their respective powers. At the mouth of the Oswego river, and on its farther shore, Capt. Peeke Fuller of the post had

tentatively stationed a number of traders. Here position there was in accordance with the wishes of Johnson, as local conditions made it possible to control their trade more effectually on that side; for military reasons, however, Rogers set about transferring them to a point near the fort's walls. When Roberts protested, he was peremptorily silenced, and his quotation of Johnson's authority availed naught. The controversey grew into one in which Rogers refused decisively to respect Johnson's general orders that his commissaries were to be obeyed in all affairs pertaining to the trade. " He thinks ", wrote the humiliated Roberts, " that he is not to obey all oders that do not come directly from the general". Petty in itself, this incident showed the determination of the newly-appointed governor to assert his independence as a military commandant, even against the authority of Sir William; and it is significant as the beginning of his relation with one who was later closely associated with him.

The congress with the Indians began July 25, in the shade of some magnificent trees between the river and the parade ground of the fort, and endured three days. The temper of the savages at the moment was uncertain, and they had reason for their fears, their resentments, and their complaints. " The injuries and slights they had met with ", had written Johnson, " gave us no room to upraid them. Our people on the frontier seem determined to bring on a new war in the face of their own ruin. Twenty murders upon them have been treacherously committed within the six months past ". He represented himself as at his wits' end for means to stop the provocationsof the whites, and urged constantly upon the home government the clothing of the commissaries with new power.

" I cannot check their grievances," he said, " and the commissaries are in the same situation. They have an office and a duty laid down for them, but no power to execute it. To answer the purposes of the appointment they must be empowered to see commerce equitably conducted, and justice executed ". His querulous plea arose doubtless in part from such instances as Rogers' disrespectful handling of Roberts. Yet he spoke boldly to the Indians of the new scheme, as well as of the measures for checking the outrages of frontier farmers along the Alleghanies. " You begin already, " he addressed them, " to see and feel the fruits of peace, from the number of traders and plenty of goods at all our garrisoned posts, and are enjoying the peaceable possession of Illinois. You will likewise now see that proper officers, men of honor and probity, are appointed to reside at the posts, to prevent abuses in trade." He exhorted them to confine their commerce to the forts. " Gentlemen residing there are solely appointed to hear your complaints and repair your grievances, but whilst traders ramble through the country without any check, you cannot be surprised that some frauds may be committed. " To all this the Indians gravely bowed. " We heartily thank you, father; for having appointed the commissaries, and for not letting the traders straggle through the woods to our villages, but to trade only at the posts; it was not prudent to let them ramble where they pleased, but there will be no danger along the waters to the forts, and we shall be justly dealt with, " said Orata, chief of t the Hurons, and all promised their furtherance of the plan, accepting it as an earnest of the love of the English people. After further parley, and Pontiac's final submission, the congress broke up to mutual satisfaction.

In the days of August Rogers and his wife, with Rogers' secretary Potter arrived at Mackinac, having come through by way of Niagara, Detroit, and the lakes. The post stood then on a bold point a mile or two west of the present sit of Mackinac City, just south and overlooking the straits, with the ceaseless wash of the blue waves at its feet; and to arrive at it Rogers passed the beautiful Mackinac island, its high blanched, limestone cliffs, crowned and backed by heavy pine forests, rising in gleaming splendour from the lake. Newly rebuilt since Pontiac's war, the fort was not a prepossessing structure, for it was neither commodious nor strong ; and its situation,among monotonous sand-dunes that ran back for a long distance before they were broken by the odorous woods of cedar and pine, was bleak inwinter and baking hot in summer. Heavy barracks rode near the fort proper, and at some distance stood the French village of Mackinac, a cluster of characteristic white frame houses, deferring the extremities of the long, narrow, rectangular plot in which the villages cultivated their land. In front - the opposite shore defined by well-wooded heights - spread the brief straits, widening away on either hand into the broad waters of Huron and Michigan, as yet unflecked except by a wandering birch canoe. The lonely garrison numbered two companies, and Captain Spiessmacker, a German officer at its head, resigned the position of chief command into Rogers' hands. The latter installed himself within the most comfortable of the various officer's houses within the stockade walls, and set himself to gaining a full acquaintanceship with his new duties and opportunities. Roberts he had left behind at Niagara, and except for his iron-clad oral and written instructions, he was invested with full powers as commander of the garrison and

agent of Indian affairs. With a full appreciation of the isolation of his post - for Detroit was a long week's journey behind him, and a rigorous winter, which would stop all communication with the east, but a few months away - his feeling was one of autocratic independence, except for such directions as he might with temporary security entirely disregard, his own affairs and that of the region were under the direct guidance of his hand. He could undertake whatever ambitious administrative schemes he deemed best, and - if fair fortune offered - attempt a replenishment of his exhausted purse, free from all but the most distant supervision. From his temper and his previous financial irresponsibility it was clear he would not halt at heavy bills when impressed with the opportunity of carrying through some striking, largely-conceived scheme; and that in affairs with the tribes he would regard himself as chiefly responsible to Gage, and would order matters of trade and of Indian relations with but scant difference to Johnson.

This last, indeed, was immediately evident. Johnson had given to Rogers, as to all other commissaries, strictest orders that the Indian trade was to be confined to the immediate vicinity of the fort; that the packs of the dealers were to be opened, as far as possible, only under the commandant's eyes: that no cheating was to be allowed, and a fixed scale of prices, which Johnson himself scheduled, was to be enforced; and that the commandant should control jealously the entire issuance of rum to the Indians. The general order was clearly repugnant to one who, like Rogers, knew intimately the circumstances under which the traffic in furs went on in the north-west. Ever since the foundation of the fur-trade by the French coureurs-de-bois

the tribes of the region had parted with their peltry on the very hinting-ground upon which they did their winter shooting and trapping. The market had been an intinerant one, and following the various villages of braves into the snowy wilderness each winter, had saved them the necessity of interrupting their hunts by a long, exhausting trip, over choked trails, to a central objective, by sending after them the French adventurer, with his cloth, trinkets, liquor, hatchets, guns, grease, and provisions of powder and shot. Adopting the Indian's ways, learning his very dialect, by tact and kindliness reaching his very heart, the wanderer would sleep at night in his wigwam, warm himself by his fire, eat at his rude board, and, indeed, make himself a member of the savage community. He had a supply of changeable goods always in the sight of the eager tribesmen, who knew the sole commodity by whose barter they could procure any desired article, and set themselves to secure it; he could give them necessities, as of weapons, or ammunition, or tools, on the spot; he could save them the necessity of leaving their wives and children a prey to starvation, and their country to hostile tribes, while they carried their growing packs in to market. More than that, he could penetrate to far-off peoples, and bring back bundles of fur that else would never have touched a Caucasian hand. Far beyond the pioneer clearing, far beyond the garrison, he was the real vidette of the commerce and civilization. Rogers knew that to keep the traders under the walls of his fort would cut in half the commercial importance of Mackinac, and he lost no time in resolving to disobey Johnson's proposal. Immediately upon his arrival he issued a general permit to all traders to " go wintering ", and follow the Indians along their frozen trails

to the forest coverts of the lynx, the mink, and the beaver.

"For this", wrote the indignant Daniel Claus, superintendent of the district, from Montreal, " he is vastly liked and applauded here". The approbation of Montreal was indeed fervent. In the merchant houses of that city centered almost all the channels of trade which drained the Mackinac district. Trafficking in the old French fashion, and with their factors on every trail in Ontario and Michigan, these firms had been the earliest and most active in their opposition to Johnson's plan. They forosaw that their agent at Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and above all Mackinac, dealing with peoples who for generations to them almost immemorial had sold from the hunting lodge and thicket, would be ruined by the new policy. They had not contented themselves with direct protests to Johnson; the Indians of the west and north, by their instructions, had sent in pleas that each of their multitudionous villages along the Illinois, Wisconsin, Saguinay, and Ottawa might be allowed a trader, - pleas that multiplied throughout 1765 and 1766; while they had induced a large number of the inhabitants of Montreal to sign a petition presented to the Lords of Trade in May, 1766, setting forth the incalculable damage being wrought the commerce of his Majesty's subjects by the new regulations, and praying for a redress. Pressure had been brought , too, upon Rogers' predecessor, Captain Howard, who had been constrained by clamor and influence to release a number of the traders from the most irksome of the restrictions; so that the Major's decisive step had not been without its indecisive precedent. Johnson had protested most vigorously, however, at the course of Howard, who had been saved from a severe visitation of official wrath only by the recall which installed Rogers in

his stead. Now the latter, by letting not merely several, but all of the traders, go en hivernement, had placed himself in the full path of the Indian Commissioner's biting anger. This he knew so fully that may well ahve been guided in his compliasance toward certain of the factors by his interested motives.

Rogers, indeed, began to fast make friends about the fort, and we know, from the records concerning the latter part of his administration, the names of the more imporant of these, all men interested in the trade; Atkinson, Goddard, Stuart, Des Riviers, the latter a New Hampshire neighbor with whom he had had business dealings three years before. The most important of his relationships at the inception of his duties, however, was with a needy adventurer who had followed him out from the east upon a previous understanding - Jonathan Carver. This officer, slightly older than Rogers, had first come into contact with the leader of the Rangers in the fighting about Lake George, where he also had served as a provincial captain. He was a native of Connecticut, bor like Rogers into a frontier community, and left fatherless at an even earlier age, though amid surroundings vastly better for his education. Wounded at the massacre of Fort William Henry, he had written a vivid and stirring account of that soory occurrence. He was retired from the service in 1763, returning to Massachusetts, where his company had been raised, and apparently dragging out a rather painful civil existence there for the next two years. Now, in the middle of August, he was at Mackinac, head bent with the major over vast plans which centered about one wild surmise.

In one way, perhaps through hearing of Rogers' petition of 1765, more likely through meeting him upon his return from

from London, Carver had been struck with the possibility of aiding the governor of Mackinac in carrying out, upon a modest scale, his glorious scheme for the discovery of the semi-fabulous Northwest Passage. In his published travels he long after attempted to arrogate to himself the credit for his expedition, saying that he was independently struck in it by the possibility of performing a further service to the king; but there seems no more truth in this statement than in many others of that wonderful tissue of exaggerations, inaccuracies, and plagiarisms. His missions would have in his own ambitions an almost inexplicable origin; he must have known that he, a landless, almost penniless officer, could never have financed it; and if he had conceived it alone it is unbelievable that he would have sought some official approbation for it. Three years later in London, at the very moment Rogers was collecting his personal expenses in the expedition, Carver secured his own share by swearing before the Privy Council for Plantation Affairs that it was only in consequence of the governor's commission that he undertook the journey. Finally, we gather from a letter of Claus' to Johnson that Rogers had returned from England yet quite full of the plan he had broached there - so full that he was willing to seize the opportunity his new authority gave him. The enterprise was rapidly put under way. In June, while Rogers was in New England or New York, Carver set out from Boston, and arrived almost with his superior at the straits, thirteen hundred miles to the west. The prompt assistance which the major, so new at his post, rendered him, far beyond the measures of his legal powers, is almost indubitable evidence of previous collusion. On August 18 Rogers issued Carver a commission as leader of a special exploring detail from the fort, at a salary of eight

shillings daily, " for the purpose of making surveys of the interior especially to the west and northwest, " and outlining carefully the route to be followed.

He endowed Carver and his companions liberally with supplies, promised to send more to the Falls of St. Anthony, and advised him as carefully as his superior knowledge of the Indians and the west warranted him. The hopes and fears of both officers were high. If the exploration succeeded in even a portion of its objects, it would benefit both immeasurably. The west, in all its rich resouces, scenery and Indian life, was unknown; its plains, rivers, mountains, unmapped ; the routes to the western ocean but conjectural. To penetrate it would be at once to confer a benefit upon science and geography, to give England a claim to its possession, to open it to settlement, and perhaps, if a water passage above the " Ouragon " did not prove mythical, to give a new impulse to commerce. On the third day of September, Carver set forth with several traders and guides down Lake Michigan. The trip was destined to do much less, and much more, than was expected of it; it was to discoverno Northwest passage, and to map no vast extent of unknown territory; but it was to give birth to a book of travel which should arouse European curiosity for America as no other ever had, and to influence Schiller, Chateaubriand, and Byron. As stout paddlers drove the canoes out over the choppy waters of the straits, the cheers of the garrison bade the explorers farewell. Before they returned affairs at the fort were to undergo a momentuous revolution.

During the autumn and early winter Roger continued his government in the most ambitious fashion. His chief concern, after granting the traders their desired immunity from Johnson's

rules, was to secure the favor and friendship of the tribes of the northwest. The Indians in the vicinity of the fort he immediately found means of pleasing. The same traders that rejoiced Montreal and angered Claus with their reports of Rogers' freedom with the trade brought news also that " his behavior toward the Indians was liked and approved by them, as well as the people of Mackinac. " Generosity, flattery, and a liberality of fair promises characterized his treatment of his red children. But he was not satisfied with gaining the golden opinions of those near the fort, and indulging the Sth rs with traders. Only a few weeks after his arrival he sent forth an embassy among the Folles Avoines, Puan, Saux, Renard, Chippewa, and Sioux, under Goddard and Des Rivieres, to notify them of his assumption of the command of Mackinac, of the concluding of peace between Pontiac and the English, and of the occupation of Illinois. The dwellings of these tribes were scattered over the great distances of Wisconsin, Michigan, northern Illinois, and even the immediate trans-Mississippi region; but the undaunted embassy loaded itself for its long journey with numerous presents. Despite all the cautions he had received, Rogers succeeded in spending £300 in Indian affairs within the first six weeks after his arrival, and duly drew a draft for this amount upon Johnson. Moreover his disbursments continued to be heavy. The great tribe of the Chippewa, residing for the most part above the Ottawa river and north and west along Lake Superior, were threatening a war with the Sioux, and were trying to involve in it their allies, the Ottawas and Pottawatomies, both Michigan tribes. This conflict Rogers labored anxiously to prevent, fearing that it would disrupt the whole west western trade; and his protests to the chiefs he again enforced

by expensive presents. His messengers he kept out all winter, and he even found means to intercept roving bands of tribesmen, whom he conciliated en grand largesse. By Christmas his expenditures had necessitated a second draft on Johnson for about £500, with more immediately to follow.

Simultaneously, Rogers was becoming personally heavily entangled, and deeply dissipated. Much of the goods for his lavish gifts he had secured on credit from the favorably-impressed and over-confident traders, representing Montreal and English firms; so large was the stock advanced him he may even have hoped to engage in the trade himself, through clandestine agents. As time passed the merchants, who had at first hoped for exhorbitant prices, realized that Rogers' extravagant course would so embroil him with Johnson that they might receive nothing at all, while they also began to fear an evet motive in his zealous conciliation of the tribes; and they entered upon a course of constant harassing and importunity. The commander gave way to a course of sustained licentiousness, no whit mitigated by his wife's restraining presence. His chief vices, probably learned in London, attached him with extreme vigor during the long winter season, whose enforced confinement told much upon his nervous, energetic spirit. When for months the ice, piling at times sixty feet high in the straits outside, cut off all navigation, and the town and fort lay snowbound and isolated between the wilderness and the lake, his constant recourse was to carouse in the garrison or village, with companions of the most doubtful cast. His sensitive wife suffered deeply from his conduct, while her grief was supplemented by a sense of the certain gulf to which his improvidence and disobedience of orders was leading

him, " to paint ", she says, " in their true colors my sufferings during my stay in that remote and lonely region would be a task beyond my ability. 'Tis enough to say that I underwent every hardship, and endured every species of ill-treatment which infidelity, uncleanness, and drunken barbarity could inflict." Thus the winter passed away; and as long with reports of his disregard of instructions, along with his rapidly mounting drafts, there reached Johnson rumors of dissipation and his debts, it was determined to send Roberts, still commissary at Oswego, on to Mackinac. Worst of all, the drafts were decisively, if temporarily refused payment by Johnson, upon the ground that he " had no letter of advice from any person upon the subject, " and decisive orders were sent to Rogers to incur no more expenses.

Roberts, who by Johnson's orders, Gage concurring, was ready to start for Mackinac from Oswego late in April, was delayed by various circumstances, and did not reach his destination until June 2d. In the interim Rogers continued his eccentric and arbitary conduct of affairs. In the early spring he sent his assistant, Potter, upon an expedition to the upper reaches of Lake Superior, to continue treating with the still war-like Chippewas. It was observed at the time about the fort that his manner was becoming more discontented and restless than ever; a fact traced to his increasing debts, and the embarassment caused him by the refusal of his drafts upon the government. In the closing days of winter he threw himself secretly into the formulation of a new and amazing scheme, which - a last gleam of hope for his material salvation - was designed to render more direct his control over the region, to stimulate the fur trade, and to make him for ever independent of his troublesome eastern

superiors. This was a proposal for a new form of government at Mackinac, which we find drawn up in formal detail in a petition transmitted direct to the Board of Trade on May 21. An effective preamble attacked Johnson's restrictions and rated the vast extent of the fur trade at Mackinac, whose exchangeable value is declared to reach £30,000, or one hundred heavy canoe-loads of central goods, yearly; the circumstances which proved that even this volume of trade, if properly nourished, could be immensely increased; and the fact that Mackinac, with its commanding situation in three lakes, stood as the logical center for the entire Northwest. Rogers wished, therefore, to have established at Mackinac a combined civil and military government which should give a more direct attention to Indian affairs, and feel a more sincere anxiety as to means of controlling and developing traffic possessing many local and peculiar characteristics, than Johnson could from Albany. He asked to be appointed governor, with power of electing one of his subordinate officers as lieutenant governor, and another secretary; while the rest of his plan embraced a council of twelve, to be chosen by popular vote from among the citizens of the town, with limited legislative and advisory functions. To preserve order he wished a few companies of rangers, ready to enforce his mandates among all the French or savage inhabitants of the whole vast territory; and he craved allowance of " a fix'd sum annually, for presents to keep the Indians peaceable - such as shall be thought adequate for a post to which more than one third the Indians on the continent resort, besides other nations as far as the Pacific. " Like the governor of a crown colony, he was to be responsible only to the king's ministers. The plan was suggestive, but its obvious inspiration

lay in his debts, his troubles with the traders and with Johnson, and the increasing certainty that a commissary would soon be watchfully at his side, and it was clear that under a scheme for promoting trade, he was virtually proposing that he be given the most absolute control over the tribes, the fur business, the garrison of the northwest, and a large sum of money.

As his negotiations with the tribes progressed, Rogers kept his agents, with their presents, still out among the villages, and himself visited a number of the chiefs. He had issued a call for a general convocation of the tribes in June, and as the war clouds that hung over the Sioux and Chippewaes drew off, it became evident that this would be one of the most impressive gatherings of savages ever held on the American continent. His messengers, from far beyond the Wisconsin, and down the Mississippi, brought back news that the most distant prairies were sendind their braves . The ostensible object of the peace was the final ratification of the Sioux-Chippewa peace, and as such was deeply irritating to Johnson from the very moment he heard of it. "It is not good policy," he growled, "to interest ourselves in quarrels of distant nations, which do not affect our forts, settlements,or communications. It may indeed be interesting to a dozen traders, who in defiance of all orders go to the Indian towns; but on the other hand these wars take off and engage some of the most violent of the Indians, who would otherwise be dangerous to us." Above all, it was a most expensive affair, between May 26 and June 10 a vast concourse of Indians, comprising many of the sachems and braves of the Ottawa, Potta-- wattomy, Chippewa, Saguinay, and Mesasaugas, began pouring in toward the straits. Rogers, with his able lieutenants, Tate and

Goddart, the latter of whom had unbounded influence with the aborigines, marshaled them with order, and kept them quiet. On June 24 the Sioux, Sauk, Folles Avoines, Puan, and Renard, accompanied by a band of fresh Ottawa as protectors from the still churlish Chippewa, arrived in such numbers that the waters of the lake were blackened by their canoes. The woods for a great distance about were filled with their tents, and through the forest paths and over the sandy shingle roamed one of the most picturesque and motley assemblages in Indian history. For a time minor conferences were held. Finally, on July 3, in the shade beside the lake, all the tribes gathered in one great and dignified convention, friendly and disaffected side by side, and the chiefs interchanged assurances of friendship and love, united in protesting their loyalty to the English, and passed about a huge calumet.

Even the Sioux, after recounting that "the Chippewa have lately stained our country with blood, and given us great provocation to lift up the hatchet against them," promised forebearance until "our fathers," "our father next to the great king," redressed their injuries. They all delighted Rogers by begging that they might have traders sent among them. Before the meeting broke up, the governor devoted one whole day to the distribution of many presents, secured upon more credits from the merchants of the town; and the red men departed rejoicing. Their congress had been a splendid and unforgettable pageant, and had inspired them with a new fealty to the British Empire; but the paper was yet to be paid.

The bills incurred in these conferences were promptly presented to Johnson by eastern agents of the Mackinac merchants, and as promptly aroused him to a high pitch of anger. Despite the fact that other commissaries, notably Cole of Fort

des Chartres, had recently sent in requests for sums, Johnson says, " vastly more than I could have thought of." he considered Rogers' expenditures wholly unjustifiable. As presented during the summer in Montreal and Albany, they reached a grand total of £5000. His suspicions equaled his resentment. He was at once certain that Rogers had been meddling with Indian affairs in a wholly unwarrantable way, and with a design to further his own overweening ambitions. "There must be some particular motive for this," he wrote Gage. "Expenses seem to have been made, Indians called, and traders indulged purely to procure their esteem." In all, he was ready at once to demand Rogers' immediate recall.

Meanwhile, on June 23 Roberts had taken office at Mackinac, with instructions to cut down expenses, to watch Rogers, and to enforce the trade regulations. He was received with so plain a show of jealousy and bad feeling, that none of his three tasks was easy. The commandant attempted from the very beginning to throw difficulties in his way; to increase his expenses, set the traders against him, and to render impossible full obedience to Johnson. Indeed, Roberts' reported indicated that from the very first he was troubled both by the plain irregularities about the post, and the commandant's obvious intention of increasing the friction incident upon maintaining order among the traders. In his first letter to Johnson he showed that many traders were plying their art away from the post, and beyond his powers of supervision; that Rogers was trying to betray him into extravagance; that he was covertly attempting to secure from the Indians a petition for Roberts' withdrawal, and his own reinstatement; and that rum sometimes got among the savages. He stated, too, a dangerous tendency among the soldiery to participate in the trade, to for-

estall which he recommended a frequent relief of the garrison. In his plan for the civil government of Mackinac, indeed Rogers had given open indication of the nature of his preference among the traders of the region. "Since it is true," he had declared, "that the French at Mackinac, St. Mary's, Green Bay, and other places were they are looking and walking up and down are an indolent, slothful set of vagabonds, ill-disposed to the English and very influential among the savages, ought they not for the better security of the British trade to be removed out of the country ?" To such men as Tate, Goddart, Engineer, and Atherton he traded constantly to divert the trade, employing them at times as his direct agents among the tribes, and at times allowing them full freedom in their own commercial transactions. Roberts described such men as "simple, canting, over-reaching New Englanders, who watch every opportunity of making the Indians drunk, and cheating them of their furs, continually abuse one another, and never speak well of any one in power." Whatever may have been their attitude toward the Indians, and toward Schlessmacher and the commissary, they were evidently bound by the closest ties of self-interest to each other and to Rogers. Their primary interest was undoubtedly commercial , their secondary the perpetuation of their advantages by the thwarting of Roberts' strict and suspicious policy.

The obstacles in Roberts' way multiplied as the weeks went on; yet by conscientious labor he began to triumph over them beyond all peradventure. Throughout the long summer days, when the lazy Indians lounged in throngs in the woods and camps about the straits, a fertile soil for the corruptions and wiles of the villagers, his chief fear was that the traders might carry rum

among them, and so inflame them to violent deeds. The avid tastes of the savages for liquor were supplied, in general, by carefully doled-out portions from the general store-room of the fort, as highly-prized gifts; but smugglers were constantly attempting to evade Johnson's strict embargo upon the sale of alcohol, for it was the most profitable medium of exchange. "Every hour," he wrote Johnson, "my uneasiness is increased. In spite of my vigilance, I fear we will have mischief done." The arduousness of his labors began to tell upon him. He was obliged to employ clerks constantly, recording every minute instance of charity or generosity to the begging savages, and reporting it to every other northern commissary; to preserve, besides the strictest accounts, a journal of all Indian intelligences; to keep in constant touch with the east, and to make long journeys into the Indian land. He did not attemp to impose too harshly the new restrictions upon trade, for the attitude of Sir Guy Carleton, the new governor of Canada, forbade that; but he required every trader who went wintering among the Indians to give bond for his good behavior, and another in guaratee that he would return his furs through the post, and not carry them down the Mississippi to New Orleans. In July and August he thus licensed one hundred and twenty canoes of goods, paddled by traders from the fort into Lakes Huron, Superior, or Michigan. Each trader was required to bring back observations on the numbers and temper of the Indians he dealt with. At the same time, Roberts was kept busy issuing clothing and food to needy braves, giving presents to gtoops of influential individuals, and receiving with affable kindness deputations of chiefs. The excessive generosity of Rogers gave him, with his meagre resouces, a hard task, but his tact and good sense stood him in able stead.

"The Indians," he was able to report to his superior, " complain Rogers promises more than he can perform, and say he has more love for packs, but less sense, than me." "Though no Englishman dared trade far down Lake Michigan," he declared long afterwards, "all the Indians thereabouts sent me invitations to visit them, and paid me a great compliment by saying they would look upon me as one of themselves." His knowledge of their language, his kindly affability, even his very volatility, where it inflamed him with a desire to protect them, rapidly won him their warm regard.

But he and Rogers continued more and more jealous, suspicious, and sullen in their attitude toward one another. Rogers' debts, joined with the news that his heavy drafts were meeting with protests in New York, and would likely be returned to him, was driving him into increasing moodiness and discontent. He grew troubled, quarrelsome, and irritable. In July Potter returned from his trip upon Lake Superior, and three or four days later the entire garrison were amazed to see the door of Rogers' house fly violently open, and the two emerge, scuffling, fighting, and blaspheming one another, down the steps. They separated after a moment, and strode away from each other, white and panting, but without divulging the root of the sudden and amazing quarrel. The soldiery were agog, and watched the two men closely. On the morrow they indulged in high words on the parade ground, and on the third day, meeting again, Rogers flew into a violent passion, knocked Potter down, and ordered him put in irons. On the advice of Roberts and others, however, Potter applied to Spiessmacher for protection, and received it. He declined, however, to make any statement as to the cause of his altercation with one so long his protector and friend, and it was generally supposed that the affair was the mere

outgrowth of Rogers' violent frame of mind. The soldiers in especial remained al ost unanimously loyal to the governor. Roberts, abetted more and more by Spiessmacher, inclined to put the worst possible construction upon his acts.

The sharp final explosion between the two men was not long delayed. During the early days of August it seemed clear to Roberts that Rogers, in desperation, was putting some huge and nefarious scheme under way, Atherton and Tate he had sent out down Lake Michigan, on some unknown mission; he himself was busy receiving belts and making speeches, of which he would let Roberts know nothing; Stuart and his other agents abou the fort were suspiciously busy. The whisper began to go about the settlement that the governor intended in the spring to gather his associates about him, sack the place, and proceed southward by way of La Baye, Lake Michigan, and the Illinois river to join the French and Spanish beyond the Mississippi. The various merchants and traders to whom Rogers was in debt - and he was said to owe several hundred thousand French livres -, and who held large stocks of seizable goods, came to Roberts in great alarm. with such fervent prayers that he protect them and their property that he made a secret agreement with Spiessmacher to cut short any attempted evasion of the governor. Potter, still sulking and silent, was making dilatory plans to leave the fort and go to England. He hinted at times to Roberts of matters of weighty importance which he might disclose, and which, he said, his conscience strongly urged him to lay before Johnson, in full written form. As the middle of the month passed, the commissary reported to his chief at Albany that it had become an open secret that Rogers had declared, unless some of ray of hope was offered him in his present gloomy circumstances, he "would

go offiin the spring, and not empty-handed." Stephen Groesbeck, one of the richest merchants at the post, whom Roberts characterized as "aheavy, self-interested Dutchman," was the governor's creditor for several thousand pounds, covered only by worthless drafts upon the Indian department. He seemed deeply interested in Rogers' machinations, and had sent out a messenger with belts to the Indians of the northwest. "Rogers" wrote Robertsagain "says that if affairs to the northwest don't turn out luckily, he must go off, and its thought Groesbeck won't stay behind". It was known too that the commander had been instrumental in sending eleven canoes loaded with goods to Lake Superior, and was now anxiously awaiting their return.

Finally, on the night of August 19, Roberts was awakened about midnight by the noise of some traders carrying rum from the fort's storehouse down to the water. He refrained from interfering at the time, but as soon as it grew light began an investigation. From some source he secured certain evidence that the smuggling of rum out of the fort had reached a great magnitude within the last few days, and that a number of kegs had been landed, with Rogers' full knowledge and approbation, at a small island on the way to La Baye, where they were to be used in gaining political and commercial credit with the Indians. In great excitement he called in Potter, and summoned him to give all the information he possessed of the governor's plots. After some hesitation, assumed or real, the ex-secretary unfolded his entire story. He said that Rogers had determined a full month before that if his plan for the civil government of Mackinac did not elicit a favorable reply from England during the ensuing winter, he would close at once with an offer he had received from the French through

one of his old comrades in the provincial service, Captain Hopkins, now a turncoat in the West Indies. With whatever part of the garrison he could induce to desert, Potter further alleged, and with Tate, Goddart, Atherton, and others, he planned to rifle all the trading depots in the vicinity, and thus "full-handed" join the French west of the Illinois country. It was his refusal to adhere to this plan, said Potter, which had occasioned his quarrel with Rogers, who had threatened him with instant death if he revealed it. Trembling with indignation, Roberts at once sat down and penned a burning not to Spiessmacher, impeaching " Robert Rogers, Esquire, for holding secret correspondence with the enemies of Great Britain, and forming conspiracies," and exhorting the Captain to "seize his person and papers, among which you will find sufficient proof." This he sealed, directed, and sent at once by a messenger. He then wrote a full letter to Johnson; and a third to Daniel Claus, introducing Potter, and desiring that he be allowed to repeat his accusation in Montreal under oath. All these he gave to Potter to transmit.

By this time the fire of his wrath was somewhat abated, and he was able to hold himself under restraint. He called his clerk, John Hanson, and going out upon the parade ground, applied to Rogers for a sergeant and two men to send with Hanson to seize the contraband rum. A proof of the bad feeling existing between the men lies in the fact that before he reluctantly acquiesced in their going, the major forced him to promise to pay the soldiers for their time. They were absent some hours, and in the interim Roberts halted seven canoes which had reached the fort, forbidding them to proceed into a region where, for aught they knew, all the savages might be maddened and blood-thirsty with

liquor. At the end of the period the two boats he had dispatched grated heavily on the pebbly beach, and Hanson supervised the rolling out of several kegs of rum over the gunwale of each. As " seizing-officer," Roberts felt the disposition of the rum to be his, and ordered it to be placed in the King's store, of which he held the key; but Rogers, who was standing glowering by, sharply contradicted his directions, and commanding that it be given to the Deputy Commissary of Provisions. A heated quarrel ensued, in which both the excitable commissary, highly wrought upon by all he had heard, and the impervious governor, lost their heads; the lie was exchanged; a deadlier accusation trembled on the lips of Roberts; and Rogers in a rage called the guard, and had the struggling officer, before the amazed eyes of the Indians and towns people, borne away and locked up in his house.

Affairs had now gone so far that interference from the east was inevitable. At Mackinac, however, it seemed for a time that the direct quarrel between the two officers might be glossed over. Roberts was not long kept in durance, for on August 22, after testifying with others at a court of inquiry into the seizure of rum, over which Rogers presided, he was released. A temporary reconciliation followed, but one merely temporary; for Robert's knowledge of Rogers' secret designs made it impossible for him to avoid a renewal of the disputes. Early in September he was again under arrest, and by September 21 felt his confinement so deeply that he addressed to Spiessmacher a petion praying for relief. He grew wholly insubordinate, denouncing Rogers as a traitor on every hand, and was finally sent eastward in irons, to await trial under General Gage. Meanwhile, on August 20 Potter had set out for Montreal, and a month later made deposition there under oath as to all of

Rogers' plots, sailing immediately thereafter to England. His deposition, together with Robert's letter, reached Gage and Johnson in October, and produced a real sensation. "From Potter's character," writes Johnson, "I have no doubt he will make the most of his discoveries; at the same time, I believe his account is within compass." Already, on September 15, upon hearing of his enormous expenditures, Gage had decided to remove Rogers. Now a new order was sent to Spiessmacher, directing him to arrest the major, and confine him until he might be brought to Montreal to trial; and to seize all his property, especially any goods with which he had been trading, to satisfy his creditors. On December 6 Roberts arrived at New York, with more than twenty affidavits from Mackinac of his unfitness and misconduct, to report to Gage for trial; and on the same day Rogers was arrested at the far western post by Spiessmacher, on a charge of high treason.

Throughout the winter Rogers remianed confined to his house, and closely watched by Spiessmacher and Lieutenant Christic, now second in command. From the first these gentlemen reported that they found something very suspicious in his behavior. For his own part, he complained that he was loaded with irons, kept in a fireless room, open to the full inclemency of the freezing weather, and scarcely allowed the necessities of life. He was robbed also of his effects, "to the value of several thousand pounds, of his papers, and of the maps he had taken, at great expense, of the Indians country;" while his wife "was treated with the same inhumanity as himself, and exposed to the insults of the common soldiers." Under these circumstances, and in collusion with his orderly, Dand Fullerton, he laid plans to escape, first approaching a Canadian, Joseph Ans. Rogers'

alleged plot was to have the savages decoy Spiessmacher and Christie out of the fort, when - as most of the soldiers were yet his fast friends - he could seize the keys, sack Mackinac and Detroit, and march away to the Illinois. Ans betrayed the attempt to Spiess-macher, first taking him to a point where he could hear one of their conferences, and alter securing from Rogers a promissory note for 500 if Ans would carry him safely to a force commanded by Captain Hopkins on the Mississippi. As a result of this exposure the major's orderly was arrested, and the guard about his house, previously relaxed, was resumed.

In the spring the sloop expected for Roger's conveyance arrived, and he was put on board to be transported to Niagara. "I was thrown," he afterwards testified, "into the hold of the vessel, upon the ballst of stones, still in irons; and in this manner transported the whole distance. When they were taken off, the weight of them was so considerable, and they were fastened so tightly, that my legs were bent. From the pain I suffered, together with the cold, the bone of my right leg was split, and the marrow forced its way out of it through the skin." At Niagara he received the charges against him from General Gage, and was taken on, under stong guard, to be tried at Montreal. Almost immediately upon his arrival there it was decided to alter the charge against him from treason to mutiny. In the first place, it was desired that he be brought an official of the bar at once, without the delays and useless formality of a civil trial; and high treason was a crime under the cognizance of the civil, mutiny under the military law. Rogers was anxious to prolong his trial upon several pretences, chief of which was that he required time to bring his witnesses up from Mackinac. As a second consideration, it was at

once perceived by his prosecutors that there was a failure of sufficient evidence to convict him of really treacherous conduct. Potter had gone to England for his health, and Chief-Justice Hay pronounced that in common law the affidavit made out by him, as coming from a man of doubtful character, and one who had just quarreled violently with Rogers, could do no material injury to the latter. Another chief piece of evidence for the state, moreover, was an alleged letter of Hopkins, found among Rogers' effects, and urging him to make haste to join with the French; and this Rogers declared an arrogant forgery. It had been transmitted to him, immediately upon leaving for the west, by Johnson, and was dated in Maryland (it was also signed Maryland). "I always thought, and am still of the opinion," said the major, "that it was penned on the Mohawk River. I returned it to General Gage, but by some magic art my letters miscarried." Of other tangible evidence of so serious a crime, except the rumors upon which Roberts and Spiessmacher had based their suspicions there was very little. Yet Rogers had wrought too much evil to go unprosecuted. With the new charge of mutinous conduct were joined accusations of disobedience to Gage and Johnson, and of embezzlement of goods and funds to his own purpose at the fort, and preparations were made to have the requisite witnesses to these charges relieved from duty and sent down from Mackinac at once.

"In his grinning way," wrote Claus to Johnson, "Rogers makes a light matter of his crime, and tells the merchants that if they supported him he would soon return to his post." This support was no more than a fair exchange, for these merchants Rogers had endeavored to aid in his policy with regard to the Indian trade; and as he was greatly their debtor, it was obvious-

ly to their interest that they should clear him. Rogers' friend Goddart was charged with assisting him in his second crime - the embezzlement of money and goods. There was a general inclination to let him off easily, however, as his influence with the Indians, manifested in a number of ways, had shown in him the possibility of a most useful public servant. Fate, Atherton, and the others were out of reach, and no particular was made to secure them. Not until early October did the trial, delayed by the necessity of bringing witnesses of the prosecution and by Rogers own indisposition from disease brought on by his own excesses and dissipations, begin. There was some difficulty in obtaing the testimony of Roberts, who had been almost as deeply involved as Rogers himself in debt, suits, and legal difficulties ever since he had been sent home a prisoner from Mackinac, and who while awaiting the opening of the trial in the city was himself arrested at the instance of one Morrison of Oswego, with whom he had disputed regarding the trade during his commissaryship there. For the defense Rogers had a number of witnesses, and all his accounts, certified to as proper and necessary by some of his offfcers, besides other documents. Against him Spiessmacher, Christie, and others testified, and Potter's affidavit and Hopkins' letter were adduced; but the case utterly collapsed through want of more collusive evidence. "The gentlemen concerned in the prosecution did not have the same desire to do him a prejudice," explained Johnson, " as himself and sundry others had to manifest his innocence, and induce the public to deem the whole a malicious attack upon a man of worth." Of the details of the trial no record has been preserved.

During the closing days of the hearing, while still ignorant of how it was tending, Rogers addressed a memorial

to Hillsborough from prison. "I make not the least doubt," he said, that I am honorably acquitted, altho' witnesses were hired to swear falsely aginst me, and my most material ones from coming down." After a detailed account of the cruelty of his treatment he continues: "My being cleared alone is not sufficient; I must have an opportunity of clearing up my character, for which purpose I beg -- an order that Mr. Roberts, Captain Spiessmacher, and Lieutenant Christie may be confined and court-martialed; and that I may go up country to bring down my proper evidence, and few remaining effects." He asked also for a new appointment, either in America or the East Indies, and stated that he intended coming to England in the autumn. He made it evident at the same time, by his inquiries as to why Roberts had never been prosecuted upon his charges, that his temper was dangerous. And so, in December, the trial broke up. "I hope," wrote Johnson to Gage, " that any affairs of party arising from the proceedings may totally subside. If not, it will be easy to see what keeps it up." Such a subsidence, as the event proved, carried before his powerful friends in England, was to be the force to keep it up. The major, nursing his anger at what Johnson himself called the"indignities"he had received, remained in Montreal during the winter. Early in May he had a vicious quarrel with Roberts in the public streets of the city, and asking him "if he would give him satisfaction for bribing Potter to swear his life away," called him puppy, tweaked his nose , and challenged him to a duel. The military commander in the city was forced to put both men under a bond to keep the peace; but Roberts nevertheless complained that "Jones won't believe Rogers carries arms, and all that is said by everybody deems prepssessed in his favor." Already the major skilfully trying to [illegible] Montreal

5

There was a multiplicity of motives to draw Rogers on to London. All his friends were there, all his monies in America. He was financially ruined at home, and by the expedient of a quick passage might momentarily escape his debtors, until they could instruct London agents to continue harrying him. As far as public sentiment went, he was yet creditably known across the water, but in disgrace in his own country; for although he had his ardent partisans in Canada, and had induced a considerable number of people to believe that he had been most unjustly and despicably grouped by the tools of Johnson, there still attached a general ill savor to his name. Finally, his burning resentment against the commander-in-chief, and the superintendent of Indian affairs, made it a daily humiliation to remain upon the continent in which they were in power. In fine terms, he had three foremost purposes which he hoped his presence at the seat of the empire might serve; to wreak home malice against Roberts, for whom he had an undying hatred, and the party of Johnson's which he had represented; to obtain a fresh appointment in some part of his majesty's wide dominions; and somehow to find his way, through all the mazes and windings of his many indebtednesses, to the light of solvency, by obtaining payment for his losses at Michilimackinac.

His liabilities totaled the enormous sum of thirteen thousand pounds, and to keep himself from falling permanently into the horrid squalor of a debtor's prison was his most immediate care. In May, after his street quarrel with Roberts, he had left Montreal and proceeded to New York, closely dogged by his creditors,

[illegible] importuned General Gage for his pay as commandant at Detroit. This the general refused him, [illegible] proud that " as his appointment was made at home by the Secretary of State, it could not go in the American accounts "; an answer which filled the aggrieved major with emotion [illegible] mingled joy and sorrow, for, as he said, it led him " to believe that, never having lost his commission, he remained entitled to his pay until dismissed by like authority". He did, however, immediately secure payment of his expenses at Montreal, and upon these slender resources, having secured sick leave of absence, he left for the mother country in June or July. Upon his arrival at the capital he went into residence at Spring Gardens and Charing Cross,

He renewed at once his acquaintance with William Pitt Elbert, one of the commissioners of trade and plantations, and with all his old military and political friends in the city; and filling their ears with the story of his hardships and wrongs, began to move through every possible agency of the government to secure the ends he desired. During October he wrote twice to Lord Hillsborough, with whom he had been in correspondence while in prison at Montreal, narrating in full the grievances and injuries he had endured since his appointment, and urging that his lordship lend his powerful influence to have him paid for his services as commandant and commissioner. He waited, too.

upon Hillsborough at that official's public levee, with such allies as he could induce thus actively to push his case; while simultaneously he sent in a detailed account of his expenses to the treasury officials, to make it clear everywhere that he considered himself still governor at Exshinge, never having [illegible] of that [illegible] received his dismissal; and to his lady's certificate of his most meritorious conduct at different periods in the field he secured from Sherret, Abercrombie, Wentworth, Cobb, Lindsay, Leighton, and in fact almost every considerable officer in command during the seven years; an authority strongly suggestive of jealousy of Amherst, or Wolfe, or both, and afraid to testimonials of his own behavior and carrying strong personal recommendations, there seemed no limit to his eagerness to advance himself in official esteem, and his influences at the Board of Trade and in the Secretary of State's office began finally to tell. He once more became a familiar figure at parties and public receptions. Finally, as a crowning mark of distinction, he was actually presented through Sherbert to [illegible] royal hand he kissed, and to whom he offered in person a memorial asking for a restoration of the lands once given him by [illegible]. So visibly powerful were the silent vested patrons, and the jealous friends of Johnson, behind him, that for the moment he became almost arrogant in his requests. " The Minister (Hillsborough) asked what would content him ", reported a correspondent of Johnson's in London; " he desired to be made a baronet, also a pension of £ 500 sterling, to be restored to his governorship at Exshinge, and to have all his accounts paid ". And although these requests were beyond reason, the fruits

of his labors and his wire-pulling were soon visible.

In January, 1770, at last fairly certain of his ground, he presented a final petition to Hillsborough. He emphasized in it the fact that he was " an innocent, injured man, cleared of the unjust aspersions thrown upon him ", and reiterated the statement that " my only motive in coming to England was to solicit for this pay, and I am not only ready but desirous to return by the first conveyance my pay shall be issued ". Hillsborough bestirred himself to see that the matter was laid before the treasury in proper form, and within a few days Fraser, the secretary of that body, informed Rogers that his arrears of salary as commandant at Michilimackinac should be paid to the date of December 31, 1760, upon which date his commission to the office should be considered as having lapsed. Good fortune came not singly. With his arrears in salary were paid all his accounts for Gorham's expedition to the northwest, including bills covering not merely the supplies with which he had outfitted that officer in August, 1757, but those, more vague in quantity, which he had forwarded him early the next year at the Falls of St. Anthony. Gorham himself, who had gone to England but a few weeks before Rogers, had petitioned during the previous summer for the payment of the eight shilling rum which Rogers had offered him, testifying before a committee of the Privy Council for Plantation Affairs that it had " in consequence of Roger's commission thus undertook and performed this great journey ". The whole of this appropriation to Rogers' cost the beginning of 1770 amounted to more than £ [illegible], and was a great relief, enabling him at once to throw several considerable [illegible] to his pack of creditors, and give him a more secure hold upon means of subsistence in the city. He continued,

however, to pay for his salary as Indian Commissioner at Cochin, for his collateral expenses there, and for the goods he had given as presents to the Indians, - still an enormous sum. At the same time, having been forced to surrender his commission at Cochin, he began to push his claims upon the government for a new post in America or in India.

Rogers' second main object, which comprised at once the airing of his grievances against Johnson, the humiliation of his rival Roberts, and the leading of whatever color of reason he could to certain current dislikes of powerful men in Whitehall circles in London, he set for a time with the same success as in his financial ventures. Roberts had sailed for London in [illegible], 1773, with many letters of recommendation from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to persons in power in England, and with several diplomatic and business commissions to execute for the Indian Department. Like Rogers, he was [illegible] over-head in debt, and could escape from his importunate creditors only with difficulty; while he was forced to obtain a transfer of suit in a case for damages, brought before an Albany law court by the parties whose goods he had confiscated while at Cochin, and to leave one motherless boy to the mail. He, too, hoped to mend his private fortunes by securing repayment of various sums which he had expended between 1763 and 1768 in the King's service, and which he claimed amounted to more than £[illegible] "without charging anything for salary". Before he sailed he had received reports that "Rogers was making a noise in England", and had written to Johnson to attempt to secure him protectors abroad, as "he might keep me in hot water". Again, when shown immediately before his departure the "extraordinary letter from London" which told of Rogers' presentation

before his Majesty, he had written Jenson: " I suppose I shall find a strong party against me by sapors. You might send something to the Ministry that might be useful to support me against the clamor. I would be vingr ceful to see that villain honored, and I that have served thirteen years unblemished, and in many capacities unnoticed ". It was quite evident from the way in which Jenson equipped his agent that he, too, feared the pertinacity and vigor with which the ex-commandant had set himself to organize all the existing opposition to the American cause. Nor, when in the days reports arrived in London, did the event prove their forebodings vain. From the very beginning the treatment and difficulty in dealing with Gillesborough, from whom he was to buy a plea that the North Department be allowed more troops, and only after repeated visits did he" make his recollect that Johnson had sent him his letters " . Indeed,he found that ' everywhere his paths had been poisoned by his shrewd enemy, and that by all too many he was regarded as the mere creature of a hateful administration in the disgraceful prosecution of a meritorious officer. " Rogers' story is much attended to by some of the people ", he reported early in August, " but are glad to censure my character. All that follow in your councils, I shall be continually plagued with contradicting his vile tales ". He had lost his position by his trip to England, and even this face temporary need to his prejudice. " He has supposed I was turned out of employment for the ill-treatment I gave him, and he has been too much believed. It is unfortunate that I can't be introduced to more men in authority, and to contradict in person what I am obliged to do through various channels ".

He was plainly puzzled by the widely-scattered nature of the dislike which he found

the major motivation for Jefferson and Lee, and the depth of the prejudice against them in some quarters. " It is a little odd ", he wrote but to almost tell, anxious to spur this lax State against its failings, " how eager the people did from valor, miscondu, and short service, select field officers. It seems a debt against general age, but time will set it up, and honesty triumph ".

In fact, it was as long as Lee was able to give heed to the sentiment against the junior officers, and not even longer, that the officers proposal. It was for a time in high favor with those on to his charges, his brutally dictated commands, and his bitter vituperations, [illegible] condition for the expression of loyalty for the to overturn longer his duties; but when the small hour to think he had given his troubles, and the revolt, of his petty attacks had spent itself in vain against the colonial administration, he was again relegated to the recesses of retirement, and spent his time in the composition of vain petitions for later relief. Never yet vanished, for he [illegible] virtue [illegible], his faithful [illegible] did [illegible] to the [illegible] with during [illegible] the [illegible] of the government. [illegible] informed in future that the [illegible] intended [illegible] station, for [illegible] and that of the [illegible] would [illegible] next in the [illegible] service. At the same time, he found [illegible] with his troubles, [illegible] extremely unkind or helpful, [illegible] their [illegible] agents, to the [illegible] which [illegible] their own [illegible]. [illegible], Congress, and the [illegible], [illegible] and by [illegible] left, [illegible] not go in, [illegible] letters, and Peter Porter, with extensive business and political

connections, for all, in Roberts' expressive phrase, " pushing for him" during the period that he seemed dealing in official favor. They, however, were ready to turn on him the moment his affairs took a darker turn, and made him feel out of his depth financially, as far beyond human control as the effects of his fall of [illegible], that even his influence and energy could not [illegible] last months. Another from one of [illegible] friends [illegible] with his usual impudence he knew all the great people, and finally [illegible] achieve will [illegible] beyond [illegible] in [illegible] ". not as [illegible] would [illegible].

[illegible]: "I'll, he had still at [illegible], since he [illegible] of trade for his great [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] "[illegible], on that" [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

in terms that have a note of desperation in them. "No man, my lord, he recites, " has gone through more vicissitudes of alternate hardship and persecution than myself ; and if I have remained two years in England without formally claiming your lordship's protection, I did so that I might urge my case with greater confidence, now that prejudice has had time to subside, and the world is disposed to be just to my character". This preface he follows with the story of his long services and most unjust persecution, and concludes; " I was without cause dismissed from employ, and do not stand consigned to inanity, and almost absolute want, with an enormous responsibility to my expenditures on credit [illegible] the ranging and Indian services. I implore your lordship to consider and commiserate my situation ". His requests, however, were moderate, for he asked only for a [illegible] renewal of his commission as major, with pay of 15 shillings a daily. Hillsborough could do nothing for. In February, 1772, he prayed the treasury to find means for presenting his demands, as he had drawn them up in detail, to the House of Commons, - a request of course utterly impracticable. Reports of his activities are thenceforth scarce, for he was no longer a person of sufficient importance to figure in the letters to New York from London. He continued, despite his many discouragements, to petition for his pay as commissary to Michilimac, and on August 10, 1772, wrote the earnest possible note to Sir William Johnson for a certificate of his appointment " to manage Indian affairs at Michilimac ", as also for "a statement of the allowance which the commissary who succeeded me had last year ". His debtors were now passing from urgency to threats. Early in March, 1773, one of them, Robert Hunter, had lost

patience, and fruitlessly petitioned the treasury for his accounts, which had been incurred by merchandise supplied the major in the northwest in 1767. Action by nearly all to whom he owed money was immediately taken against him. On June 14 the he was in the Fleet prison for debt, complaining bitterly that he was in the greatest distress for want of every necessity, and greatly injured in his health by his long and close confinement. In a neighboring cell was Benjamin Roberts, who, having drawn on Johnson for £ 100 to maintain himself in England, had been summarily deserted by his old friend and patron.

One of the last straws at which Rogers had clutched is to be seen in the reopening of his old proposal for a search after the Northwest Passage, in a plan laid before the Privy Council in February, 1773. As he had done seven years before, he set before that body his unusual qualifications for such a search, stating that as a commander at the farthermost of the Great Lake Forts, and in various expeditions which he had made or caused to be made " therefrom, he " has gained information which almost positively establishes the existence of a navigable passage "; and he prayed " to be employed in this time of peace in such an expedition, at a salary of £ 5 per day as director and conductor of the enterprise". He estimated that in all the trip would consume three years, and although he insisted upon a party of sixty, including several officers, a geographer, with assistants to draw maps, some pioneers, and fifty hunters, he believed that £ 17 . 10 daily would suffice for salaries. His projected itinerary varied but slightly from the previous one. He would leave from the Mohawk in April or May, traverse the Great Lakes and Wisconsin to the Falls of St. Anthony, and there pass the first winter; the second summer, he

push on to the Pacific, where he would again halt ; and at the beginning of the third, he would strike north and northeast along the coast, following its rounding contour and exploring every considerable inlet, until he found the one which really connected the Atlantic with the Pacific. On its return the party would pass through Japan, Siberia, and Russia. The plan never received really serious consideration, although it was transmitted from the Privy Council to a committee, thence to the Board of Trade, and finally to the treasury.

Of Rogers' movements between the middle of June, 1772, and the middle of March, 1775, we know almost nothing. On the former date, as we have recorded, he was in Fleet Prison, and petitioned the King to grant him " six miles square on the banks of some great and convenient river or lake in America, that he might compromise with his creditors ". His memorial was recommended by six of these imprisoned pursuers, and by thirteen general officers who had at some time served in America, including many names of distinction; but the plan was never granted. The lapse of twenty months which followed was one all-important to an officer connected with both English and American affairs, for it was a period which saw the two peoples rapidly drifting into war. It is broken finally by a petition to the Earl of Dartmouth, who had succeeded Hillsborough as Chief Secretary of State, announcing Rogers' intention to rejoin the Army, and asking for a renewal of his Major's commission, as " it will prove of infinite service to him in many respects ". He had evidently been contemplating this step for several months, for he mentioned that it had been some time since he had left his old commission at the under-secretary's office,

and that Lord Barrington, upon Gage's recommendation, " had repeatedly and absolutely refused to do anything for him ". But how had he escaped the debtor's cell ? And how had he spent the last year ? As to the first of these questions, we know that at one time during his confinement he began a process in law against Gage, which was summarily stopped upon

Of Rogers' movement between June 14, 1773, and March 17, 1775, we know almost nothing. On the former date, as we have recorded, he was in Fleet Prison, and petitioned the King to grant him " sixty miles square on the banks of some good and convenient river or lake in America, so that he might compromise with creditors ". His plea was recommended by six of these persistent gentlemen, and by thirteen general officers who had at some time served in America, including many names of distinction; but it was nevertheless refused. On the latter date, he requested the Earl of Dartmouth, who had succeeded Hillsborough as Chief Secretary of State, to renew his commission as major, " as it will prove of infinite service to me , in many respects ". He has then evidently contemplated resuming active service for some time ; for he mentions that he had left his commission at one of the under-secretarys' desk several weeks before, and that he had repeatedly applied to Lord Barrington for the renewal, " who had absolutely refused to do any services for him. ". But how had he escaped the debtors' cell ? And how had he spent the last twelve-month ? As to the first of these questions, our surest information is that his brother James, being already a rich land holder in New York, had assisted by bond his most pressing obligations; not, however, before Rogers was in such desperate straits that he had attempted a legal prosecution of Gage to reimburse himself for his expenditures in

the northwest. As to the second, we must accept without verification his subsequent statement to President Sherlock of Dartmouth that he had fought two battles under the ray of Algiers. At all events, early in 1775 he was in England again, from from his most immediate difficulties, excited as to the threatening aspect of colonial affairs, and anxious to see service again, either in America or in India. For a time it seemed that he would go to the latter field, for Dartmouth not only restored him to his majority, upon half-pay, but recommended an application of his to the Directors of the East India Company; Parliament resolved during the spring, however, to send no additional officers there, and Wolfe's views fell in range. He at once turned to the other alternative, and representing to the ministers that he was seized with a burning desire to visit his family in the New World, and that business affairs required his immediate presence there, obtained leave from Barrington to proceed across seas. On June 4 he sailed from Gravesend.

Before leaving England he was advised by his ministerial friends that if he wished to obtain service in America he would do well to [illegible] at a repair of his breach with Hagar, widened so far by all his bad practices in London in 1773 and 1774, and by his more recent step in law. Immediately upon arriving in September at New York, therefore, he wrote that officer expressing " equal hope and firm desire that every past unhappy circumstance should be burned in oblivion ". It was clear that as soon as he had completed matters of business in the now rebellious provinces, he hoped again to receive a command under the British flag; and indeed, if we may believe his own word, he had already refused of a post in the colonial army. After this having landed him at Baltimore late in August, he had halted

there a few days to acquaint himself with the wholly new posture of affairs in British America, Lexington and Bunker Hill were now month-old stories. Boston was invested, and Washington had just assumed command of the investing force; Rogers' old comrade, Israel Putnam, had been chosen one of the four major-generals of the colonial army; the Continental Congress was sitting at Philadelphia, where it had just set forth the necessity of taking up arms, and had yet owned the continuing sovereignty of the King. He was filled with amazement at the new spirit of resentment now rife once abroad among the colonists, and wrote to the home government that " since my arrival here all ... are so much deceive these people, now labouring under an unhappy delusion ". However, he had found it necessary to wait on the Continental Congress at Philadelphia on September ... to obtain a permit to clear his debts in Lower North Carolina, and to arrange the affairs of his brother, resident above Albany; and he had been given that passport ... over Franklin's signature, only upon a promise not to bear arms against the colonies, nor to supply information concerning their defenses to agents of the ministry. He did not conceal the fact that he was on half pay, and considered himself yet a loyal officer in the King's army, and his attitude toward the American radicals seems from the first to have been one of rather unfriendly neutrality. Nor did he hesitate, upon reaching New York, to open negotiations with not merely Gage, but Sir Guy Carleton, for a command, complaining of the impossibility of maintaining himself and his family upon half-pay. He lodged in the city at " Mr. Marston's or Broadway " and was under the surveillance of the local committee on safety during every moment of his stay. In fact, he seems never to have entirely ceased, nor to have given others the impression of entertaining,

a disposition to enter any but the royal service.

While his military future was still unsettled, he devoted himself to business. From Governor Fryon he secured a reissue of several old grants of land along the New Hampshire boundary line, with which to satisfy his creditors: and early in October he set out northward, through Albany to join his family and to visit his various friends and relatives. He was halted on the road by what he called "a severe attack of fever and ague", but finally pushed on to his brother James in Kent, near the Connecticut. He then proceeded to Portsmouth, where he stayed a few days with his wife and young son, at the home of his now aged and tottering father-in-law -- evidently no very welcome guest. Some doubt can be thrown on his story of the fever and the ague by his wife's testimony that "he was in a situation which, as her peace and safety forced her to shun and fly from him, so decency forbids her to say more upon so indelicate a subject". So she never to see her again. On his way to his farm at Rumford he passed by way of Andover, where he stopped for dinner at the home of Dr. Wheelock, head of the struggling young college there, - one of the most interesting interviews of his whole career. He did not impress the venerable minister and educator favorably. In shabby undress uniform, his splendid physique already showed evidence of greed and dissipation. He talked boastfully of his services in Africa, of his large grants of land, of his rejected offers from the provincial army, and officiously offered to assist Dr. Wheelock in obtaining English aid for his institution, - an offer which was coldly declined. All Rogers' movements were now regarded with suspicion by colonial patriots, and next day the minister addressed to

..shington at Cambridge a full account of his meeting with hi[illegible]. Meanwhile, having economically availed payment of his night's lodging at a neighboring inn, the major had forced on to his farm: and thence he set out again, in the course of a week, to return to the British headquarters at New York. Two incidents marked his journey. On his way to Bedford he fell in with a tall, adult lad of fifteen, and struck by his appearance, engaged him in conversation. He found that the boy was the son of his old station in the ranging service, Captain John Stark, on his way to join his father in camp. And paid his reckoning at the hostelry at which they stopped at noon. That night at Bedford he held [illegible] conversation with the widow Otis, and drew from her a declaration of his unfaltering allegiance to the American cause. On [illegible] December 14, he sent by him a letter to Washington, in his entrenchments about Boston, asking for a continuance of his permit to pursue his private affairs, as he conceived it would require some months yet for him to settle with his creditors. " I have leave to retire on my half-pay, and never expect to be called into service again ", he added, " I love North America. It is my native country and I expect to spend the evening of my days in it ". This at least was characteristic duplicity, for he was even then in hopes of a fresh commission. Washington's only answer was to detail General Schuyler to keep a close watch over the former ranger. On January 6, 1776, the Commander-in-chief [illegible] that he had set out from Albany to get [illegible]. On the 8th of the month, Lord Dartmouth wrote to General George Clinton, brother of the [illegible] who had accompanied Arnold upon a short cruise, and now Gage's successor at the head of the British army; " His being approved of the arrangement [illegible]

[illegible] adjutant-general and a quarter-master-general, and [illegible] Rogers, of those firmness and fidelity [illegible] further testimony from General Tryon".

Rogers, however, was still to wait some months for his appointment, for his business in New York was not yet unfinished, nor was it [illegible] for him to join those closely pent within the half-fortified army within Boston. He busied himself about the city, free to come and go at will its streets as no pleasure, but under a supervision that daily grew more constant and more rigorous. The city had grown so patriot that now even Tryon and his council had been forced to flee aboard the British ship-of-war in the harbor, and the Tory elements in the population concealed their sentiments and their hopes in weakness and fear. The half-way major still loafing on Broadway, felt with many others the darkness of the party feeling manifested by the whigs, and of the radical resolutions passed by those who were beginning openly to express their hopes of an immediate declaration of independence. In the prevailing unrest the Provincial Congress of the province had resolved to punish by imprisonment and forfeiture of property those who gave information or supplies to the enemy; in September it had authorized the seizure of the real of all those who had not sworn allegiance to the American cause; and throughout the winter it was said that the local committees of safety kept a minute watch over such suspects as Rogers. In his business operations he was felt especially hampered. During February, 1776, while he was still soliciting grants of several tracts of land within the province, he was forced to petition the Provincial Congress for permission to attend "his excellency the governor" on board the Duchess of Gordon, then lying with four other warships in the

Autter's and Ledloc's islands. He was careful to specify that it was " business of a private nature, and such only as respected myself and dependants ", that rendered his attendance aboard this necessary; and he was duly given the requested permit.

With the coming of spring on a few weeks later his situation grew doubly irksome and dangerous. In March the American command-in-chief fortified Dorchester Heights, with the result that within two days Howe evacuated Boston, and abandoning all his stores, set sail with his troops and more than a thousand Massachusetts loyalists for Nova Scotia. The continental headquarters were at once moved southward. On April 21 Washington arrived at Roxbury for , and for days thereafter his ragged, ill-fed, but faithful troops straggled over the rough, muddy spring roads to the east. Neither he nor his officers had any sympathy for American-born citizens who still adhered to the British cause, and fearing, as they did almost daily an English naval attack, they took prompt steps to drive out or chain up intractable elements " Any ", wrote Harrison to , " should persons who are proved upon the vitals of the country be suffered to stalk at large, whilst we know that they will do every mischief in their power? The next few weeks were spent in turning the old loyalists, for they were carried by the militia, either or Americans, or sent to neighboring states on parole. Food was an object of greater solicitude than ever, and none was made more cruelly to feel the misery and suffering with which he was tortured. Immediately before leaving Cambridge Washington wrote Chandler at length that " Never, while such suspicion of unfriendly views toward this country, his conduct should be Attended to with some degree of vigilance and circumspection ". At his coming he detained certain letters of the non-juror

Colonials to preserve a close watch over all his goings and comings, and saw to it that all sources of information concerning his actions, in New Hampshire and New York, were probed. These measures were not without their fruit, for on June 7 the New Hampshire House of Representatives appointed a committee " to consider the expediency of securing major Rogers in consequence of sundry informations against him ". Washington prompt, he arrested, and as he protested vigorously, closing his recommendations from various hands, he sent in letters and charges to be examined by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Thus, by this fortuitous train of circumstances, he was present a prisoner, being in the very shadow of independence hall, at the birth of the American republic.

When he arrived on July 1, the old Quaker town was already stirring with premonitions of impending events. Lexington announced itself, and the inception of the Declaration of Independence, in the same letter to Washington. " Major Rogers is under guard at the barracks ", he wrote, " Congress having, by a particular appointment, had under consideration a momentous matter this day, which presented their attention to him. My next will inform you, I hope, of some very decisive measure ". The momentous matter of which he spoke was Richard Henry Lee's motion that " these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states ". Discussion upon it and upon Jefferson's draft of the Declaration wholly engrossed the next three days. It was not until July 4, when the all-important step had been debated and determined upon, adopted by twelve states, and signed by the president and secretary, that the major, waiting to know his fate, was given a moments' consideration. It was

summarily ordered by Congress that he be sent to the New Hampshire Assembly for final disposal. This reference of the case was notified to the provincial body in the same letter of Hancock, dated July 6, which after professing that " altho' it is not possible to foresee the consequences of human actions, yet it is nevertheless a duty which we owe to ourselves and posterity, in all our public councils, to decide the best we are able, and trust the event to God ", heralded the dissolution of all connection between the colonies and Great Britain . But Roger had no intention of answering for his altered informations and treacheries ; and in the early morning of July 8, still held at Philadelphia, found means to make his escape. The Pennsylvania Committee of Safety offered a reward of 50 for his head, but he safely made his way across country to Staten Island, where Howe, with thirty thousand men, had just landed.

Here Rogers was received with open arms. Not merely had Howe been assured of his ability and held previous communication with him, but to an army composed largely of men untrained in new world methods of fighting, unfamiliar with the enemy, and entirely uncertain of the ground over which it must pass, he was a most valuable accession. He knew the whole central region, along the Hudson, and to Philadelphia, in which Howe was to operate; he knew intimately the temper and possible resources of the Americans; and he knew many Tories in the neighboring boroughs whom he could induce to enter the British Army. In the first days of August, therefore, he was given the title of Lieutenant Colonel, and empowered to muster a battallion

of loyalists, to be called the " Queen's American Ranger ".

It was only in the first campaign after he joined the British army, however, - the campaign of the autumn and winter of 1776 - 7, along the lower course of the Hudson, and down through New Jersey, that Rogers' connection with the American Revolution was one of any importance. The first movements about New York demonstrated that, however successful he had been in partisan fighting, he had little place in an army which marched, deployed, and fought in European style , over ground for the most part well-cleared and cultivated, and under generals who realized all the advantages of a complicated system of military tactics. During Howe's preliminary manoeuvres to drive Washington out of the city he was fortunately occupied in collecting his men, whom he drew from all the towns in lower Connecticut, Long Island, and along the New York shore of the Sound. His method of enlistment was that time-honored and serviceable one by which he offered a commission to a chosen few who engaged to bring in a certain quota of soldiers; a method which, while it readily filled his ranks, at the same time gave him a corps of officers notable chiefly for their inefficiency. His detachment of four hundred men made up, however, he was duly sent to occupy a place in the front, where it was expected he would be of especial service. In August Howe had thrown troops across the narrows, and five days later, in the battle of Long Island, he drove the American advance lines back into confusion, capturing Generals Sullivan and Stirling, with more than one thousand men. Before the end of the month Washington had been forced to retreat from Brooklyn Heights to New York, crossing East River by night in a heavy fog.

To dislodge him from this new position the British army at once pushed its infantry across the East River, and in an attempt to cut off Washington's retreatbrought on a sharp skirmish along Harlem Heights, near the west front of the present Columbia University; whereupon " the old fox ", in Cornwallis's term, withdrew toward White Plains, half-way to the Connecticut line.
It was in the attempt during October to defeat him here that the commander of the Queen's Rangers saw his first active fighting of the war.

On the twelfth of October Howe landed a large force of men ten miles in the East River, urging them as soon as possible east north East and Washington, and simultaneously disembarked troops and others on the shore of the Sound, hoping to cut off the connections of the Continental army with Connecticut. With this latter wing he at once began to feel forward, to sound the possibility for a general advance. His movement was one suddenly determined upon, with the breaking off of his conciliatory negotiations with Congress, and had not prompted and prevented a plan which Rogers had laid for a bold raid into Connecticut: for the major, stationed with his battalion at Huntington on Long Island during the last fortnight, had meditated a descent upon the Continental stores collected at Greenwich, Stamford, and Norwalk, with the inlets and avenues to which places his men were perfectly familiar.But the battle for which the ex-ranger was thirsting was not long denied him. As his outpost party was moved forward toward White Plains, he took post at Throgmorton's Neck, only ten miles distant. Here, on the night of October 31, a command of nearly double his numbers, under Colonel Haslet, attacked him, and inflicted upon his men a defeat so total that

only the darkness, and the defection of some of the American guards, prevented their annihilation. As it was they took thirty-six prisoners, a pair of colors, and many arms and provisions. Stirling was so pleased with Boslett's success that he thanked him and his men publicly on parade. The new hatred and contempt of the patriots is felt in every letter reporting the affair. " The late worthless major skulked off in the dark ", says one; another speaks of him as characteristically " very careful to get himself off, though he often leaves his men in the lurch. The whole affair was but a skirmish, however, and with Washington's defeat at White Plains a week later the tide of war went rolling away southwest toward Philadelphia.

How briefly and ingloriously was Rogers' revolutionary career, to all practical purposes, ended. A few weeks later the leadership of his corps was given to Colonel French, and then to Major Sawyer until finally, on October 1st, 1777, it passed to Major J. T. Scribe, who dismissed the more incompetent officers, substituted southerners for them, and brought the command to a high state of efficiency. Henceforth the now forgotten and more discredited major, apparently kept in service, chiefly by the memory of his past achievements, was employed only as a recruiting officer. In October, 1777, he still preserved some connection with his corps, for at Quebec he petitioned Haldimand, Governor of Canada, to be permitted to rejoin it at New York by way of England, the only route then open ; and actually signed himself as its ranking officer. At the same time he was seeking employment at the north , for Haldimand refused as impracticable his petition to be allowed to raise two battalions from the neighboring colonies.

his stay in England was brief, although we learn from a letter of his to the governor, thanking him for his leave of absence, that through it he " found means to get provided for ". On May 1, 1778, he was back at New York, and had secured from Clinton authority to attempt the recruiting for which Haldimand had withheld permission. He immediately sent out officers to beat up men from about the various posts along the Canadian border. Each battalion was to be commanded by a major, with nine captains under him, and was to muster 600 men. Indeed, at this period of the war Rogers was the most prominent and active of the various agents who drew loyalist volunteers into British army, and for his partisanship in northern New Hampshire he was proscribed in November, 1778, by the house of that colony. His headquarters he established first at St. John's, New Brunswick, and later at Machias, Maine, and it was for a time with genuine success that he prosecuted his enlisting for the " Kings Rangers ", as the new troop was to be called, along " the western frontiers of New England and Penobscot ". One of the recruiting agents for whom he found employment was his brother, Major James Rogers, who had been totally ruined by the confiscation of his estate of 20,000 acres in Vermont, and driven by the neigh from his wife and children into Canada; he appointed him provisional commander of one of the battalions, and in fact, in May, 1780, petitioned that Haldimand create his lieutenant-colonel also.

Meanwhile, in the autumn of 1779 Rogers was at Penobscot harbor for a time, and witnessed there a small naval skirmish.

Despite the energy with which he entered upon his new task, however, his old evil courses rapidly laid hold upon him

again; and by the middle of 1760 he was once more upon the highway to ruin and disgrace. He reported in September, 1759, that he had raised seven hundred men, for whose expenses, with his own, he later sent in a requisition for nearly £600; and when in the early spring it became necessary to move these troops forward, it appeared that he had not yet mustered forty. The winter months, moreover, he spent in Quebec, where he drew money on the account of his subordinate officers, and spent it in drunken and riotous revellings. One officer, named Longstreet, whom he thus cheated of £70, was especially bitter against him, and complained loudly to Haldimand. The governor, again found difficulty in search in getting him to go to the front again, and reprimanded him severely when, ten days after Rogers had announced his departure, and secured money and other necessaries for his journey, he found him still sulking about the streets of the town. When, finally, he set out for Ramouraska, he " contracted debts and drew bills the whole way "; Haldimand's secretary tells us," and thoroughly disgraced and injured the cause ". On March 30 he was at the Lake of the Grand Portage, whence he wrote to Quebec to hope " whatever I have offended your excellency in will be overlooked, as I have nothing more at heart than His Majesty's service ". On April 26 he was at Halifax, and a few days later sailed for England, writing his brother James before his departure that he intended sending an agent shortly to Canada to straighten out all his financial affairs. In July the last of his bills from Ramouraska came down, thoroughly angering Haldimand, and leaving his brother financially prostrate. He still retained his command, however, for his commission had been

issued by Clinton, and it was not in Haldimand's power to revoke it; and even James Rogers, sensitive under the stigma of his brother's disgrace, and embroiled, moreover, in disagreable quarrels with rival enlisting officers for other branches of the service, was unable to resign his post in the " King's Rangers ". But Robert Rogers was never to touch American soil again. The last full reference to him which we possess, written upon American soil, is in a letter of his brother's, bearing a date practically coincident with his departure: " The conduct of my brother of late has almost unmanned me. When I was last in Quebec I often wrote to, and told him my mind in regard to it, and as often he promised to reform. I am sorry his good talents should so unguarded fall a prey to intemperance ". James Rogers continued to enlist for the Rangers, but by the time four companies were completed the war was over.

In 1784, upon the conclusion of peace with America, we find certain evidence of the presence of Rogers in London, from the fact that his name had been transferred to the Half-Pay Registers, on which he was credited with a daily payment of 8 s. 5 d. - a sum ample for the maintenance of life in comfort. The last brief chapter in his history is soon told. The tradition of his family speaks to this day of his dissolute and improvident life in the city although nothing more definite is known concerning it. On May 18, 1795, he died at the parish of Newington, or Newington Butts (so-called from an old archery ground which once stood there), in what is now a very crowded part of south London, He buried in the yard of the old church of St. Mary Newington five days after, in a spot whose location is now unknown ; the church having been

pulled down in the last century, the churchyard paved over, and a new church erected not far off. Administration of his estate, which amounted to but £100, was granted in the next autumn to John Walker, a creditor. No one, so far as we know, mourned his going. His wife had been divorced from him, by decree of the New Hampshire legislature, seventeen years before, and - she having remarried - his only son had grown up under alien roof. He died in total obscurity, and no newspaper or newsletter, in either England or America, placed his name in even its curtest list of obituaries.